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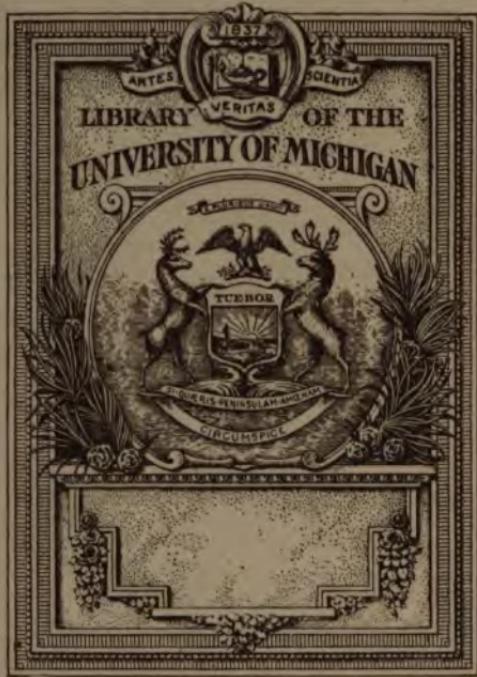
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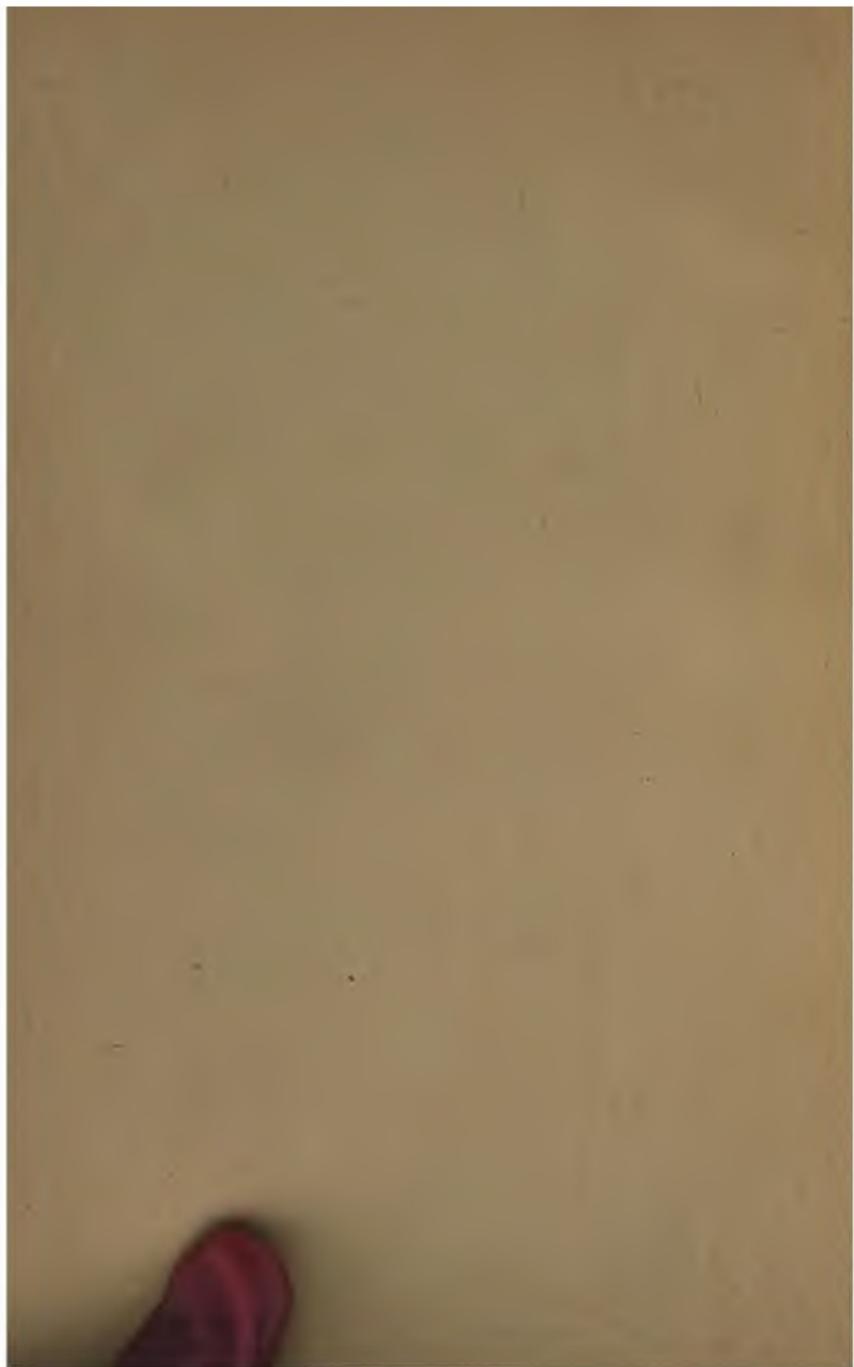
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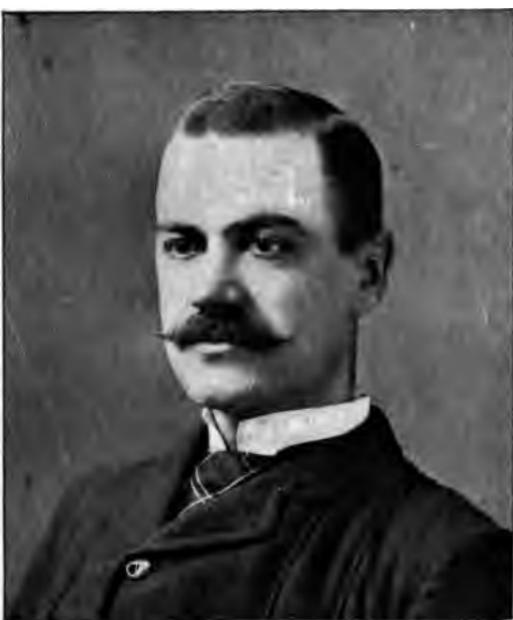
*A SKETCH
OF THE
ACADIEN OCCUPATION*



JOHN FREDERIC HERBIN, B.A.

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JOHN FREDERIC HERBIN, B.A.

GRAND-PRE

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A SKETCH OF THE ACADIEN OCCUPATION OF THE
SHORES OF THE BASIN OF MINAS

THE HOME OF LONGFELLOW'S "EVANGELINE"

A Guide for Tourists

BY

THE ONLY DESCENDANT OF THE EXILED PEOPLE NOW LIVING
IN THE LAND OF HIS FOREFATHERS

JOHN FREDERIC HERBIN, B.A.

Author of "The Marshlands"

WOLFVILLE, N.S.

TORONTO
WILLIAM BRIGGS

WESLEY BUILDINGS

MONTREAL: C. W. COATES HALIFAX: S. F. HUESTIS
1898

**ENTERED according to Act of the Parliament of Canada, in the year one
thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight, by WILLIAM BRIGGS, at the Department
of Agriculture.**

Dedicated to
The Acadian People.

THE RETURNED ACADIEN.

Along my fathers' dykes I roam again,
Among the willows by the river-side.
These miles of green I know from hill to tide,
And every creek and river's ruddy stain.
Neglected long and shunned our dead have lain,
Here where a people's dearest hope had died.
Alone of all their children scattered wide,
I scan the sad memorials that remain.
The dykes wave with the grass, but not for me ;
The oxen stir not while this stranger calls.
From these new homes upon the green hill-side,
Where speech is strange and a new people free,
No voice cries out in welcome ; for these halls
Give food and shelter where I may not bide.

—*J. F. Herbin.*

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GRAND-PRÉ.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction—Description.

IN view of the fact that Longfellow's beautiful poem "Evangeline" has given more or less fame to Nova Scotia, and particularly to Grand-Pré as the *local* of that sad story, there is a conviction very general that but for this happy circumstance the Province would receive little notice. This is, perhaps, in a great measure correct. Yet the pages of Acadian story are peculiar and unique facts of history. The events connected with its making are thrilling and picturesque. The two great nations of Europe, England and France, were striving for supremacy in America. Violence, hatred, and jealousy never ceased till they culminated in the expatriation of a people who had occupied the Province for one hundred and fifty years. It was the supreme moment of despotic government when the expulsion of a people was given the name of an act of necessity; when the acquisition of land was excused under the guise of national safety; when savage warfare made men forget the higher and finer instincts of their nature.

The poem "Evangeline" is a remarkably correct page of history. Since its appearance in 1847, because the odium of the act of the expulsion seemed to rest on the English Government, a great deal has been written in an attempt to show that the Acadiens were in themselves wholly to blame for the fate that befell them. Had all the facts been known, much of it would not have been written. Haliburton in 1811, only fifty-six years after the French were taken away, wrote a history of Nova Scotia. At that time, many were alive who had lived through the scenes of the expulsion. Richard in 1895 published "Acadia: Missing Links of a Lost Chapter in American History," with the aid of everything that could throw light on the subject. To-day, history is practically reconstructed; and only within a few years has it been possible to give all the facts in regard to that much mooted question, the expulsion of the Acadiens. Records were lost or destroyed; facts in favor of the people were made to appear against them; and following the plan of writers who made a special study of the period, with a preconceived prejudice many have followed their course, adding to the accumulation of writings that tended to perpetuate the error that has so darkened the memory of an unfortunate people. At no place was the work of the deportation carried out so thoroughly, and of no place is there so full an account in detail, as of Grand-Pré. Winslow's work was as fully performed as his account of it was written.

The portion of this country first occupied by the French, called Mines, or Minas, on the south and west

of the Basin of Minas, has become noted both for the richness of its soil and the loveliness of its farms and orchards. Its natural scenery has made it famous. But perhaps its greatest claim for attractiveness, coupled with its great and varied beauty, is the fact of its being the home of Longfellow's greatest creation, "Evangeline." The poet's description of the country, glowing as it is, does not usually disappoint the stranger who comes to Grand-Pré with the lines of the poem still fresh in his memory. Wolfville, only three miles away, is the centre about which cluster the points of beauty, and from which radiate the lines of road which communicate with them. Directly in front lies the blue stretch of Minas Basin. The distant hills of Cumberland are cut off, and relieved on the west by the bold and nearer outline of Cape Blomidon. Numerous large and beautiful streams empty their waters into the Basin, which in turn flows into the Bay of Fundy. Cape Blomidon terminates the range of mountains which lies on the north side of the Annapolis Valley. The eastern extremity of this valley is the Canard and Habitant of the Acadiens, now the Cornwallis Valley. These are seen to best advantage from Look-Off, a point on the North Mountain about four hundred feet above the level of the valley. This overlooks a varied and extended scene of great beauty. Look-Off is about twelve miles from Wolfville, and the road thither lies through the finest of the orchard country. This is the favorite drive, as it presents a fine variety, and the distance is easy.

South of Wolfville lies the famous valley of the Gaspereau. The river flowing through it empties, after many curves and turns, into the Basin. Several miles up its length, fresh and salt water mix together. Half a mile from the outlet, the Acadiens were taken on board the transports. Here lie the wonderful marshlands, those fertile plains which first drew the Acadiens to Minas Basin. On these hillsides the prosperous people dwelt. At Grand-Pré they were made prisoners. From here they were removed and made exiles.

A short distance south of Wolfville, the hill commands a good view of the Basin of Minas, the Grand-Pré meadows, and the bold outline of Cape Blomidon. From the red bluffs of Pereau to the Gaspereau Valley, along the banks of the rivers in the foreground, and east beyond the range of vision, lie the many villages of the Acadiens. Many of the homes seen to-day are occupied by the descendants of New Englanders. Here the famous apple, the Gravenstein, is grown, classed among the finest in the world.

CHAPTER II.

Acadie—Port Royal—Minas Visited—The Micmac Indians.

1504—1671.

As early as 1504 the waters about Nova Scotia were visited by French fishermen, and its shores were well known; yet a century passed before any permanent settlement was made in Acadie. In 1604, DE MONTS, a nobleman of the French court of Henry IV., came to Acadie for the purpose of colonization. With him were Champlain, Poutrincourt and Pontgrave, names frequently mentioned in the following years in connection with the history of New France. The history of LA CADIE, or L'ACADIE, as the country was called, began with the founding of Port Royal, now Annapolis, in 1605, a grant of this portion of it having been made to Poutrincourt by De Monts.

The first Europeans who touched upon these shores, meeting with the native Indians for trade in furs, heard frequently the sound “Cadie,” which forms the terminal of many Micmac words. This word became, eventually, the name of the country inhabited by them; and while it applied more particularly to the peninsula, it included a part of the mainland. This word, affixed to many names, means, in Micmac, “the

place of," or "abounding in." Shubenacadie, Tracadie, names of places, are still in use. The Melicites of New Brunswick pronounced the word "Quoddy," and to-day we have Passamaquoddy, etc. ACADIA, or Acadie as it was known in its earlier history, formed a part of the FRENCH DOMINIONS in America, called New France, comprising what are known as Upper Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, the islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton, and part of Newfoundland. Acadie embraced Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and a large part of the State of Maine.

A few houses having been erected at PORT ROYAL IN 1605 established it as the oldest permanent settlement of Europeans in eastern America, after St. Augustine. In 1607, Jamestown in Virginia was founded. In 1613, an expedition under Argall from Virginia broke up the colony and destroyed Port Royal. Thus did this rapacious New Englander begin the strife which ceased not till French power died in America. There were a few Frenchmen scattered along the Annapolis River; but for twenty years there was little mention of Acadie till 1621, when New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were ceded to Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling, by the King of England, under the name of NOVA SCOTIA. A few Scotch families were sent out; but in 1632 these were merged in the French population, when Acadie was restored to France. Port Royal existed as a quiet and obscure colony until D'Aulney in 1636 selected it as a suitable place for his headquarters as Lieutenant-Governor. Fired by the ambition to control all

Acadie, whose bounds were as yet vaguely defined, his frequent conflict with others of his countrymen defeated for a long time any attempt at permanent settlement. Dyke-building was begun about this time to keep the tides off the marshes. In 1654, Acadie was again taken from the French by a fleet sent by Cromwell to capture New Holland. There was now a large population along the coast from Virginia to Machias, Boston being the most important town. In 1667, France by treaty again acquired Acadie, and it was put under the governorship of Grandfontaine. With all the sacrifice of time and money there were but 400 French in the country, over 300 being at Port Royal. There were, besides, a goodly number who had joined with the Indians, some having intermarried with them and taken up their mode of life. The census of this period is confined to forty-seven families. In 1671 began the history of *Les Mines*, or MINAS, to which this sketch is chiefly devoted.

Various points in Acadie had been settled by the French before these beautiful lands sloping to the waters of Minas Basin became the scene of civilization. Yet report of their wonderful richness, their seclusion and beauty, had made Minas known a century before it received a permanent settlement. The Grand-Pré—the great prairie—and the broad sheet of basin receiving into its bosom a hundred streams, fine stretches of forest, the vast acres of marshlands, bold bluffs and undulating hills lay like a garden, the haunt of Micmacs and the retreat of an occasional pirate or corsair, until the beginning of its history in 1671.

In 1604, De Monts sailed up the Bay of Fundy on an exploring expedition. He visited the mines of pure copper at Cape D'Or (Golden Cape), also called Cap des Mines. These mines were undoubtedly known to the Indians, for among their remains found on the shores of the Basin, pieces of copper are sometimes met with.

De Monts sailed into the Basin to Partridge Island, where the captain of one of the ships found a large specimen of AMETHYST. The stone was broken in two pieces, and De Monts received one of them. On their return to France the specimens were cut and mounted in beautiful settings, and presented to the king and queen. This stone is rarely met with now on the island touched by these hardy explorers, and only in small and poorly colored specimens. The writer has obtained fine pieces at Blomidon, which when cut and polished compare well with the best stone obtainable.

On the lookout for a suitable place for settlement, De Monts was not favorably impressed with the stern appearance of the rocky bluffs of Blomidon and the north shores. He missed the rich lands but a few miles farther south. He then continued his passage along the north shore of the Bay of Fundy, at that time called Baie Francaise. The word Fundy is derived from *fond*, the end, or top of the bay.

With the establishment of Port Royal began the friendly relations that continued so long between the native Indians and the French. A profitable trade in beaver and other furs sprung up.

MINAS, MANIS, MENIS, as it has been variously

called, was named by the French Les Mines, and referred to the south shore of Minas Basin, from which the name was derived. Mines, later Minas, owes its name to the veins of pure copper at Cape D'Or, called also Cap des Mines. Hence the adoption of the names Minas Basin ; Minas the region ; Minas, the French settlement south of Minas River (the Cornwallis River). In general terms, Minas may be said to include all the shores or land bordering on the Gaspereau, Cornwallis, Canard, Habitant and Pereau rivers. This includes the present territory of Avonport, Hortonville, Grand-Pré, Gaspereau, Wolfville, Port Williams, New Minas, Starr's Point, Canard, Cornwallis and Pereau. The French settlement at Piziquid (Windsor) was for a time included in Minas.

When the French came to Acadie they found that the Indians had a name for every sea, basin, lake, river, brook, headland and hill in the country. It was the home of the Micmacs, and they knew every part of it. Their language is beautiful and poetic. The oldest names we have are theirs. We know nothing of the origin of the word "Mic-mac." In time the French gave beautiful and suggestive names to many parts of the country. Many of these have been changed to English names. In Micmac tradition, Glooscap is the Great Spirit. He once lived in Nova Scotia, but they do not know where he now is. He was like other men in his way of living ; but he never died, never was sick, and never grew old. He lived in a large wigwam. Blomidon bears his name, in Micmac, *Glooscap-week* (Glooscap's home). Minas Basin was his beaver pond. The dam was at

Cape Split, the extremity of North Mountain. This he cut open, leaving a passage way for the tides. Spencer's Island was his kettle, made of a stone. Two rocks near by were his dogs. All these places have Indian names expressive of their connection with the legend. When the white men came, Glooscap was displeased with their treachery, and turning his kettle over, and changing his dogs to stone, he departed from the country. He is expected to return some day.

There is evidence to show that there were MICMAC VILLAGES IN MINAS in early times. Game and fish were abundant, and the extensive flats supplied great quantities of shell-fish. In several places on the west side of the Basin, at Starr's Point and at Canard, their remains have been found, showing where they had their villages, landing-places, and trails. Through the use of these places by successive generations of tribes, large tracts were cleared of wood, and were ready for the Acadiens when they sailed up the Basin on the lookout for suitable places for their homes. At Starr's Point, a few years ago, Indian skeletons were found, seeming to point to the existence of an Indian burying-ground there. Various stone implements and arrow-heads have been found in the same locality. Near that place a *Kitchen-Midden*, with its heap of large clam-shells, bones of various animals and pieces of copper, hand implements of stone, axes, adzes and arrow-heads of stone, chipped into shape, from material obtained at Blomidon, rude pottery in fragments showing crude attempts at ornamentation—all these have been found buried under several inches of soil.

These remains show to a remarkable degree the condition of the aborigines of this country when the French missionaries began their work among them. The Micmacs were an honest and intelligent race, and always maintained their friendship for the French. Much of our history was influenced by these natives. Harsh and aggressive treatment never secured their friendship. The Micmacs were called *Souriquois* till the eighteenth century.

Occasional visits of the French to Minas for trade made known the richness of the country, and later, when Port Royal had grown too large to furnish the youth with land, these virgin fields became settled.

Here the rivers were unobstructed by dyke or ford. The red tides rose and fell, flooding the marshes and mixing with the crystal waters of the many streams. Only the coarse salt hay moved in the flow of the sea where now stretch out the broad hay meadows of the Basin of Minas. No horses or cattle grazed on the slopes. No sheep fed in pasture or clearing. No smoke but of Micmac camp or bark wigwam rose in the air. No church spire pointed to heaven and told of the Son of God. Over the whole extent of the waters no ship spoke of man's industry and of a people's commerce. Here waited a rich heritage ready to reward toil and peace, a very haven of refuge. But through what a fire of persecution and woe was it to be brought about! By what tyranny and injustice! Through what pools of blood, over what devastation of homes is the foundation of a nation's greatness laid!

CHAPTER III.

Minas Settled—Geology of Minas—Dyke-building—Churches at Minas—Church's Raid.

1671–1710.

THE CHIEF FOUNDER OF MINAS was a rich inhabitant of Port Royal, Pierre Terriau, who probably settled on Habitant River in 1671. Associated with him were Claude and Antoine Landry, and René Le Blanc. Terriau had wealth and much wheat which he had raised at Port Royal, and he distributed it among the others without interest.

Here was the hoped-for retreat. Those at Port Royal were under the eye of the fort, the prey of every evil chance. Minas was without protection, save that of isolation, yet it grew rapidly after the pretensions of La Villiere, in command of Acadie, who claimed Minas, were laid aside three years later. His policy had tended to obstruct settlement. Minas under the Seigneur La Borgne received no assistance from him. Annapolis had at this time a population of 361. The Acadiens were mostly descendants of colonists brought out to La Have on the south shore of Nova Scotia, and to Port Royal, by Isaac de Razilly and Charnisay, between 1633 and 1638. They came

from Rochelle, Saintonge, and Poiteau, a limited area on the west of France—a country of marshes.

In 1671, the agricultural population confined itself more and more to the land. Every immigrant, every disbanded soldier became a farmer. Thus land became necessary, and as the boys grew up many had to look elsewhere for homes. Sometimes whole families migrated. From this time settlements increased rapidly in different parts of Acadie, on the best available land.

From 1671 to 1686, the population of Acadie had more than doubled. This growth was due largely to immigration. Minas had now 57 souls, 10 families, 83 acres tilled, 90 horned cattle, 21 sheep, 67 swine, 20 guns. Among the settlers was Pierre Melanson, called La Verdure, aged 54, born in 1632, and Marie Muis D'Antremon, his second wife, aged 36, born in 1650. Their nine children were from one to twenty years old. Pierre Melanson came from Port Royal. His name was affixed to the marriage settlement of La Tour and Madame D'Aulney in 1653. The story of the rivals and bitter enemies, La Tour and D'Aulney, makes Acadie's most thrilling chapter. In 1654, Melanson was Captain Commandant of the king at Port Royal, and tutor, as well, to the children of the then dead D'Aulney, proprietor of the country. As will be seen later, the surnames of the nine families at Minas increased rapidly. They were Aucoin, De la Boue, La Roche, Pinet, Terriaud, Rivet, Boudrot, Hebert, Landry. Aucoin, Terriaud, Boudrot, Hebert and Landry became the most numerous of the names we

find on the list of the Acadiens at Minas in 1755. These settled near the head of the tide on the Canard and Habitant rivers. Le Blanc was not on the census of 1686, but the name became numerous later on the south side of Minas River (the Cornwallis). The Melansons also were located there, and a village on the Gaspereau had this name.

Acadie's history gives an account of disputes and attacks everywhere else, but for some years Minas is seldom mentioned. It grew quietly in retreat. From the silence of history regarding it, we may infer the ambitions that actuated the *habitans*. The great results disclosed later, when base motive was not wanting to look upon them as enemies, can be credited to those quiet days of thrift and industry that made the small nation of Acadian peasantry a prosperous and contented people. From 1670 to 1710 Port Royal was besieged five times. Minas was visited and made to suffer but once. Reports of the rich extent of the marshes attracted many to its borders. Thousands of acres awaited the building of dykes to make their owners rich.

GEOLOGY teaches us that at an early date following on the Carboniferous or coal age, the North Mountain did not exist, and the waters of the ocean lay over the whole of the Annapolis Valley from the South Mountain eastward to the Cobequid hills, and north to New Brunswick. The common action of rivers, tides, frost, rain and sun upon the carboniferous limestone, slate and sandstone, and other rocks which made up the surface of the earth and the beds of streams and

seas, formed immense deposits of mud and sediment which were laid down level under the water and became rock. Then occurred a warping, or change, in this deposit, and what is known as the red sandstone was in many places exposed to view. Along the shores of Minas it can be seen, as well as on the shores of Cumberland and Annapolis basins. The action narrowed the Bay of Fundy to somewhat like its present limits. In many places can be traced the channels of long extinct rivers and waterways at a great altitude above sea-level.

Following this change of feature came the great internal force that rent the earth, and poured forth a mass of molten matter which spread over the sandstone and was piled up from Five Islands in Cumberland to the western limit of Digby County. The North Mountain was thus formed, and at Blomidon can be seen the trap or volcanic rock overlying the red sandstone.

To the geologist the study of this region is of unending interest. With the subsequent cooling of the trap rock, great seams and cracks appeared throughout the mass, which were eventually filled up with the chemical elements in crystalline forms, such as zeolites, amethyst, calcites, etc., found in more or less abundance along the extent of the mountains. Between Blomidon and Partridge Island, about five miles, is the great passage way of the tides which rise and fall in filling and discharging the immense body of water that passes in and out twice in twenty-four hours. The continuity of the mountain of trap is

broken here, unless it extends under the water. Digby Gap is another break in the mountain wall.

Now the marsh building begins. The great streams where the broad marshes now lie were open seas at high tide; and at low tide great gaping basins and channels through which long rivers flowed from hundreds of valleys. Mountain rivers, swollen to torrents, carried down earthy matter fed to them by rains or torn from their own banks and channels; and all this rich sediment poured into the tidal waters was in great part at once checked in its onward movement, and fell to the bottom of the slower moving salt water. About the time of high tide the upland streams, losing almost all motion, gave up their freights of marsh material, which, mixing with the sea elements, were laid down to become in the course of centuries the richest and most productive of land. Many broad valleys were filled up in this way, only a long, winding, and comparatively narrow channel remaining for the escape of the mountain streams. Doubtless a certain proportion of this accumulation of marsh was supplied by the incoming tide, moving rapidly upward to the heads of its source, and there throwing down the fine particles of material held suspended while its movement was rapid.

At certain periods the tides are higher than at others. At present only these higher tides cover the marshes that have not been dyked. The deposition of material is yet taking place; for the most part, probably, changing place. This is shown in many places by the comparative height of the land inside and outside the dykes, there being a difference of

several feet. The whole soil has a reddish color, due to the presence of iron.

It must be understood that the first attempts made by the ACADIENS AT DYKE-BUILDING were commensurate with their small numbers. Dykes were thrown up to enclose small areas of marsh, alongside the upland, often from point to point of land. As the population grew larger these small dykes increased, until the people were of sufficient numbers to run a dyke *across* the river from shore to shore. This required concerted effort and great skill, especially in putting down an *aboiteau*, or sluice, in the bed of the river channel, to let out the fresh water from within, and to keep out the salt water. This word *aboiteau* (spelled in many different ways) has come down to us from the French. It is of uncertain origin. Whether from the Norman *aboter*, to clog, or from the French *abattre*, to beat back, is a doubtful question, though the latter seems to be the more acceptable.

The Acadiens performed a great work in building the dykes. On the Canard River and at Grand-Pré are many traces of their labor. Dykes stretched across the Grand-Pré meadows to Long Island. The greater number of these protecting walls of earth required also the construction of *aboiteaux* in the bottom of river channels. On the Gaspereau about all the marsh was dyked in. Wolfville, Port Williams, New Minas and Kentville had dykes in early times. A very interesting work may be seen on the road to Look-Off. The bridge crossing the former channel of Canard River lies on the broken ends of the old French dyke, over where the *aboiteau* lay. After

the expulsion, the dyke was broken by a high tide, and the English built another only a few yards west, till the great work of constructing the Wellington dyke was done, nearer to the Basin.

The DISTRICT OF MINAS included the PARISH OF ST. JOSEPH at Canard River, and that of ST. CHARLES at Grand-Pré. The churches were of wood, with towers from which, twice a day, came the sound of L'Angelus. We have an interesting account of a visit to Grand-Pré, or Minas as it was called, in 1686, by Bishop Valliers of Quebec. We learn from him that the inhabitants were young men, well built, and hard working. They had left Port Royal to settle there. They were draining the marshes and building dykes. They were without spiritual guidance, and the Bishop stopped a day to minister to them, giving them instruction ; hearing confession and giving communion in the morning ; and in the afternoon he baptized some children, and settled some differences between them. They had been without religious instruction for some time, and they pleaded for a priest to be given them, promising not only to support him, but to build a church and a parochial house. Where now stand the French willows and the old well so much visited every year, was then known as an *island*, being surrounded by water at high tides. This strip of land was offered by the owner as a site for the church and house, either the whole or a part of it. Here, eventually, the church and priest's house were built. The burying ground was also near by. The location of these may be seen to-day. This spot was in 1755 used by Colonel Winslow for himself and



CAPE BLOMIDON.



his regiment when the Acadiens were being deported —a sad coincidence.

The first missionary at Grand-Pré was le pere Claude Mireau, Recollet, who wrote the first acts in the registers, 25th of June, 1694. As only part of the parish registers remains, there is no complete list of the priests of Minas. The list of missionaries or *curés*, of whom we know, is: Bonaventure Masson, Recollet, 1707-1710; Abbe Gaulin, 1711-1717; Felix Pain and Justinian Durand, 1717-1738; L'Abbe de la Goudalie, 1739-1748; L'Abbe Chavreulx, Grand-Pré, and Abbe Daudin, Canard River, removed in 1755.

From 1690 to 1710 hostilities scarcely ceased between the New Englanders and the French. Pillage surprises and ambushes were the order of the day. All the cruel nature of the Indians was excited to barbarous deeds. The hatred of the two peoples grew to its highest, and no act seemed too bloody or cruel.

The Acadiens, meanwhile, were being bound by closer ties, as the newer arrivals at Minas married the daughters of the older settlers. Relationship, religion and a common nationality bound the whole people in one great family.

In 1693 Minas promised to become the most populous and flourishing settlement in Acadie. Its people numbered 297, with 360 acres of land under cultivation, 461 horned cattle, 390 sheep, 314 swine. Port Royal had lost in population and wealth. In 1701 there were 490 souls; in 1714, 878, in Minas.

In 1701 the Governor of Acadie passed through the country. He visited Minas and found the people very comfortable and independent, possessed of a great

number of cattle, and able to export 700 or 800 hogsheads of wheat yearly, beyond their own consumption. They lived like republicans, acknowledging no royal or judicial authority. The Governor afterward had to send Bonaventure, naval commander of the coast, to bring them to terms. They engaged to make a road through the woods to Port Royal, a distance of ten leagues, as soon as the harvest was over. Only a trail existed at this time between the two centres. Many Indian trails ran over the peninsula, but the waterways served as the principal means of passing from one part of Acadie to another. Minas Basin received the waters of many long rivers, navigable for small craft.

We learn that for the purpose of defence both from the English and from pirates and privateers, there was a company of militia at Minas. La Verdure, whom we have mentioned, was captain. He was the chief man at Minas ; honest, poor, a debtor to the extent of 1,400 livres. All Governmental addresses were sent to him for execution. The *cure* had a salary of about \$150.

In 1704, about the end of May, an expedition left Boston to ravage the coast against the French and Indians. About 550 men, including some Indians, embarked in two gunboats, 14 transports, 36 whale-boats and a shallop. The expedition was under the command of COLONEL BENJAMIN CHURCH, a celebrated partisan, who had in 1696 burned and pillaged settlements of the French and killed their cattle. He passed up the coast, killing and making prisoners as he went. At Fundy, Church with the smaller vessels

went to Minas, to attend to the lighter and more congenial work of robbery, leaving the remainder to attack the fort at Port Royal, which, by the way, was not attempted. At Minas, Church caused the dykes to be cut, thus flooding the marshlands and destroying them for crops. Ruin and desolation followed his route. Having met with some resistance, he destroyed three populous villages, plundered the inhabitants and killed their cattle. His instructions from Governor Dudley were to burn houses and make what spoils he could. A better agent could not have been chosen. He had been sent in a spirit of retaliation, because the Indians had been attacking the English settlements, instigated, it is said, by the French of Canada. One writer describes Church as being energetic, impetuous, and bull-headed. He was so fat that when pushing through the woods he kept a stout sergeant by him to hoist him over the fallen trees. He was now sixty-five years old, and must have outgrown the valor that had made him a noted Indian fighter ; for on his visit to Minas he had treated the innocent people there in a despicable manner. Public opinion in Massachusetts branded him as a coward, though he received the thanks of the Government.

In 1705, Bonaventure, the Governor, sent four soldiers to Minas to bring back the king's bark, *La Gaillarde*, loaded with wheat. He presented to the church there, as a royal gift, an ostensorium, a pyx, a chalice, and complete ornaments for the Eucharist. This was probably to replace what had been taken off by Church in the previous year. It is apparent that only one church had been pillaged.

CHAPTER IV.

Loss of Port Royal by the French—Treaty of Utrecht—Governors Vetch, Nicholson, Caulfield, Doucette, Philipps, Armstrong, Philipps.

1710–1730.

ON October 10th, 1710, PORT ROYAL WAS SURRENDERED TO THE ENGLISH, after a determined fight of nineteen days. It never went back to France again. The terms of capitulation referred to Port Royal and the territory within three miles of the fort. The people within that radius were allowed two years to pass out of the limit into French territory, binding themselves to allegiance for that time if they remained. During the next year the fort was in a weak condition and in danger of attack. Minas remained in French territory until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. But meanwhile the fort was blockaded by the French. Abbe Gaulin, parish priest at Minas, tried to organize an expedition to aid the French, and succeeded in getting together 200 men, and entrusted them to Saint Castin, who had been named Lieutenant of the King in Acadie. The enterprise was not carried out.

Port Royal was now Annapolis; and Acadie, Nova Scotia. The Province had a population of about two thousand.

THE TREATY OF UTRECHT gave Acadie, excepting Louisburg, to England. The Acadiens had liberty to remove themselves and all their movable effects to any place within a year. Those who were willing to remain might do so as subjects of Great Britain, and should enjoy the free exercise of their religion as far as the laws of that country allowed. They had also the privilege of selling their lands and estates in the country if they wished to remove.

The Acadiens determined to leave the country rather than take the oath of allegiance, which might at any time compel them to take up arms against their own countrymen. In 1713 they had sent a deputation to Louisburg, but found the soil of Cape Breton of inferior quality, wooded, and without natural meadows. Yet they had determined on leaving. Lands in Prince Edward Island had been offered them. COLONEL VETCH, who was in command at Annapolis, would not permit them to go, on the pretext that he was only Lieutenant-Governor, and they must wait for the arrival of Governor Nicholson. His coming dates after the year stipulated by the treaty had expired.

The following letter from Felix Pain, missionary, Recollet, to the Governor of Cape Breton, is to the point:

“MINAS, 23rd Sept., 1713.

“A summary of what the inhabitants have answered me:

“‘It would be to expose us manifestly to die of hunger, burthened as we are with large families, to quit the dwelling places and clearances from which

we derive our usual subsistence, without any other resource, to take rough new lands, from which the standing wood must be removed, without any advance or assistance. One-fourth of our population consists of aged persons, unfit for the labor of breaking up new lands, and who, with great exertion, are able to cultivate the cleared land, which supplies subsistence for them and their families. Finally, we shall answer for ourselves and the absent, that we will never take the oath of fidelity to the Queen of Great Britain, to the prejudice of what we owe to our king, to our country and to our religion; and that if any attempt were made against one or the other of these two articles of our fidelity, that is to say, to our king and to our law, that in that case we are ready to quit all, rather than to violate, in the least thing, one of those articles. Besides, we do not yet know in what manner the English will use us. If they burthen us in respect of our religion, or cut up our settlements to divide the land with people of their nations, we will abandon them absolutely. We know further, from the exact visit we have made, that there are no lands on the whole Island of Cape Breton which would be suitable for the maintenance of our families, since there are not meadows sufficient to nourish our cattle, from which we draw our principal subsistence." . . .

Felix Pain gives us definite information as to the POPULATION OF MINAS in a census dated October 5th, 1714. There was a total of 1,290 souls. The families give us fifty-four surnames, viz:

Aucoin, Babet, Braillot, Benoit, Blanchard, Bodart,

Boutin, Boucher, Boisseau, Bourg, Bourq, Boudrot, Brasseaux, Breau, Chauvet, Commeau, Coperon, D'Aigre, D'Arois, Douaron, Doucet, Dugas, Dupuis, Forest, Gautereau, Girouard, Godet, Grangé, Hebert, Jasmin, Landry, Laroche, Leblanc, Lejeune, Leprince, Martin, Melanson, Michael, Mouton, Perrine, Pinet, Rembaud, Richard, Rieul, Roy, Saunier, Sire, Teriot, Thibodeau, Toussaint, Trahan, Vincent, Voyer.

The following letter will show why Vetch did not let the Acadiens depart. It was written to the Lords of Trade, England :

“LONDON, Nov. 24th, 1714.

“MY LORDS,—

“In answer to Your Lordships’ Queries, delivered to me by Mr. Secretary Popple, upon the 23rd of this instant, my most humble opinion is as follows:

“As to the number of the familys of French Inhabitants in the countrys of L’Accady and Nova Scotia, by the best account I could get during the space of three years and more I had the honor to command there, they were computed to be about five hundred family’s, at the rate of five persons to a family, which makes two thousand five hundred souls.

“As to the next, How many of them it is supposed will remove? By the last advices from thence, they had obliged themselves under their hands all to remove save two family’s, viz., one Mr. Allen and one Mr. Gourday, both of which had lived in New England formerly.

“As to the 3rd Querie, How many family’s may be upon Cape Breton? That I cannot pretend to be so

exact in. But according to the best advices, I could learn they are said to be now about five hundred familys, besides the garrison, which I consider consists of 7 companys already. The French King, to encourage them to settle the place, gives them eighteen months' provisions, and assists them with ships and salt, to carry on the Fishery.

"As to the 4th, What may be the consequence of the French moving from Nova Scotia to Cape Breton? They are evidently these: First, their leaving that country entirely destitute of inhabitants. There being none but French and Indians (excepting the Garrison) settled in those parts; and as they have intermarried with the Indians, by which, and their being of one Religion, they have a mighty influence upon them; so it is not to be doubted but they will carry along with them to Cape Breton both the Indians and their trade, which is very considerable. And as the accession of such a number of inhabitants to Cape Breton will make it at once a very populous colony (in which the strength of all the Country consists), so it is to be considered that one hundred of the French, who were born upon that continent and are perfectly known in the woods, can march upon snowshoes and understand the use of Birch Canoes, are of more value and service than five times their number of raw men, newly come from Europe. So their skill in the fishery, as well as the cultivating of the soil, must inevitably make the Island, by such an accession of people, and French, at once the most powerful colony the French have in America, and of the greatest danger and damage to

all the British Colony's, as well as the universal trade of Great Britain. . . .

"As to the next question, which relates to the time of the French's removing from Nova Scotia with their effects; I am informed several of them, who have no very great substance, are already removed thither this summer, and *that the rest design to do so next summer*, as soon as their harvest is over and the grain got in. As to the number of the cattle they may carry away (if permitted) and what will be the consequences of the same, I have been informed when upon the place, that there may be about five thousand Black Cattle, besides a great number of Sheep and Hoggs, in all that country, the greater part of which, no doubt, they will carry off, if permitted.

"The consequences are evidently these: First, it will Intirely strip that Colony of the above cattle of all sorts, and reduce it to its primitive state. To replenish which at the same rate (it now is from New England, the nearest Colony to it, which is one hundred and ten leagues) at a moderate computation of freight only for the transportation of such a number of Black Cattle and a proportionate number of Sheep and Hoggs, will cost above forty thousand pounds, besides the long time it will require to stock that country. . . .

"As to the last Querie that comes under my cognizance, viz., the consequence of allowing the French to sell their lands in those parts: First, as it would entirely disappoint the settlement of that valuable country; because it is never to be supposed that any person will go to buy land in a new country, when in

all His Majesty's plantations abroad there is such encouragement, of land gratis, to such as will come and settle in them.

"Secondly. It would be a breach of the Public faith, contained in Her Majesty's Royal instructions, when the reduction of the place was undertaken, by which the lands are promised away to the Captors, for their encouragement to reduce the same. Nor is there any article in the treaty of peace that entitles the French to any such privileges. Nay, moreover, I am of the opinion that by the treaty the French inhabitants are either allowed to remove, if they designed it, or at least to make a demand of the same, in a year's time after the ratification of the treaty, neither of which was done. Nor would the inhabitants have offered to go, had they not been not only importuned but threatened by the French officers, in the French king's name, to be treated as Rebels if they did not remove, which, how far that is consistent with the Treaty, is, with the foregoing particulars, most humbly submitted to Your Lordships' consummate wisdom by,

" May it please Your Lordships,

" Your Lordships' most humbly devoted Servant,

" SAMUEL VETCH."

NICHOLSON arrived in Port Royal in July, 1714, and the matter of the departure of the Acadiens came up before him. They were waiting, ready to depart on his permission. He was made to realize very soon what a loss the Province would sustain if the Acadiens were permitted to go; and to save time he referred

the affair again to the Queen, although she had stated that they had the privilege of leaving the country if they so wished. Unfortunately, the Queen died in August of the same year, and the matter was never settled. Delay after delay followed with pretext and subterfuge, fraud and deception. The people of Minas did not sow their lands in 1715, having enough grain to live on for two years, and so sure were they of departing. They were refused transportation in English vessels. French vessels were forbidden to enter Acadian ports. When they built their own vessels they were refused permission to buy rigging at Louisburg or Boston ; and finally their vessels were seized. Later they were threatened that if they left the country all their property would be taken from them, and they would be left but a little provision. It is too plainly apparent that the Acadiens were not to leave the country with the consent of the governors. From 1713 to 1730 every effort was made to *compel* the Acadiens to take the oath of allegiance. The events of these few years are the key of the whole Acadian question, over which there has been so much dispute, and about which so much has been written. The facts have come to light only within a few years ; nor has any attempt been made to controvert them, though many volumes of misrepresentations and travesties on history have been written. It is painful to read of the events which follow. In view of all the circumstances, the Acadiens were remarkably faithful to the government under which they lived. They were kept in the country that they might serve *their*

masters. If, at times, they were wrongly influenced by their own countrymen, it was a natural and spontaneous movement on the part of these harassed people, and had everything to excuse it. Their industry and skill made them a part of the country. Their patience was almost beyond belief, in toleration of the harshness, tyranny and fraud practised upon them. Their nature was calm and peaceful. Who will blame them because they looked fondly to the flag of their country and to the home of their religion, since they were always looked upon with suspicion, and treated as slaves and enemies by their petty rulers?

CAULFIELD became Governor in 1715. He sent two officers, Peter Capoon and Thomas Button, to Minas, to proclaim King George, and to tender the oath to the Acadiens. We have their reply to these officers:

"We have the honor to signify to you that no one can be more thankful than we are for the kindness of King George, whom we recognize as the lawful sovereign of Great Britain, so graciously shows us, under whose rule it will be for us a real joy to remain, as he is such a good prince, if we had not since last summer made engagements to return under the rule of the King of France, having even given our signatures to the officer sent in his name, contrary to which we cannot act until their two Majesties of France and England have disposed of us otherwise. However, we bind ourselves with pleasure and gratefulness, while we remain here in Acadie, to do or undertake nothing against His Britannic Majesty King George,

of whose proclamation to the Crown we are witnesses, which was made by you, sirs, in presence of the inhabitants of the said places, at Minas, this 12th of March, 1715, we, the undersigned, acting and being authorized by all the inhabitants to act, according to the power of attorney which they have given us.— Jacques Le Blanc, Antoine Le Blanc, Charles Babin, Jessemin, Philippe Melanson, Claude Landry, Pierre Terriot, René Le Blanc, Pierre Richard, Jacques Le Blanc, Francois Rimbaut, Germain Terreau, Jean Le Blanc, Martin Aucoin," etc., etc.

This shows the determination of the Acadiens to depart, though reluctant to do so, as soon as it was possible to go with the consent of the Crown. This was their desire the next year.

At this time Minas was the only grain plantation, and was supplying the garrison at Annapolis, which was almost destitute and without credit.

The condition of affairs was changed under the next Governor, DOUCETTE, in 1717. While the French were ready to leave the country, the Indians were friendly; but when it appeared that the Acadiens, tired of the delay in the settlement of affairs regarding their leaving, or remaining in, the country, were disposed to remain on terms of peace with the English Government, the Indians began to threaten them. Doucette demanded of them the oath, which they had refused up to this time because it tied them to the country. They claimed the right to depart with their property. If they were to remain it would be on condition that they were to be protected from the Indians, and their

oath was not to compel them to bear arms against their own countrymen. This was the stumbling-block in the way of a peaceful settlement of the matter. The governors expected the Acadiens to take an unqualified oath of allegiance, and the people never did so.

We have the following account and description of Minas, written in 1720 :

"Minas, called by the French Les Mines, has its name from the copper mines which are said to be about it, especially at one of the capes, which divides the Bay of Fundy, and is called Cap Des Mines, or Cape Doré. This town* lies thirty leagues by sea and about twenty-two by land east-northeast from Annapolis Royal, on the same side of the Bay of Fundy. The harbor there, or rather the road, is very wild and insecure. The vessels trading there, which seldom exceed forty or fifty tons in burthen, take the opportunity of the tide, which commonly rises nine or ten fathoms, and run up the creek (Dead Dyke) to the town (Grand-Pré), where, when the tide leaves them, they lye on a bank of mud, which stretches five or six miles before it meets low-water mark. This place might be made the Granary, not only of this Province, but also of the neighboring Governments. There is a flat of meadow (Grand-Pré Dyke) which stretches along for near four leagues, part of which is dam'd in from the tide, and produces very good wheat and peas.

"The rest of the meadows might be with some labor dam'd in also, and if peopled with industrious Inhabitants, might be of very great advantage, not

* Grand-Pré.

only in regard to this Province, but as is mentioned above, for the supply of the neighboring Governments.

"The houses, which compose a kind of scattering Town, lie on a rising ground along two Cricks, which run betwixt it and the meadow, and make of this last a kind of Peninsula. This place has great store of Cattle and other conveniences of life, and in the road they catch white porpoises—a kind of fish, the blubber of which turned into oil yields a good profit.

"The Inhabitants of this place and round about it are more numerous than those of the British River (Annapolis River), besides the number of Indians which often resort here, and as they have never had any force near them to bridle them, are less tractable and subject to command. All the orders sent to them, if not suiting to their humors, are scoffed and laughed at, and they put themselves upon the footing of obeying no Government. It will not be an easy matter to oblige these Inhabitants to submit to any terms which do not entirely square to their humors unless a good force be landed there, and a Fort or redoubt of earth be thrown up, well ditched, friezed and pallisaded, till a more durable be built. This redoubt must have four pieces of cannon (sakers) and command the meadow, which is their treasure. The force sent for that purpose must be three or four hundred men, the reason of which will appear when it is considered when the wildness of the harbor will not make it safe for any Ship of force to remain there to give countenance to such an undertaking, and that even if she could anchor safely it must be at the distance of twelve

miles from the place where the said redoubt is to be built, and that any other vessels which must be employed to carry the troops and workmen must lie ashore dry sixteen hours, at least, of the twenty-four, and may be liable to be burned, and thereby cut off the retreat of those employed in this work, unless they are able to defend themselves and to make head against the Inhabitants and Indians, who will never suffer it to go on if not kept in awe by a sufficient force. The redoubt should be capable to receiving a hundred and fifty men, which will be enough to curb the Inhabitants till they grow more loyal, or better be put in their stead."

In 1729 General PHILIPPS took the reins of power at Annapolis. He at once issued a proclamation to the Acadiens to take the oath without reserve, or leave the country within three months. At the same time he prohibited them from selling, disposing of, or taking away, any of their effects. He believed that this action of his haughty temper would bring about the desired result, that of binding the Acadiens to the country by means of the oath. They refused to do so, however, as they had always done, stating that the Indians were threatening them with revenge if they were omitted from the reservation. They were willing to retire from the country, and asked that they might wait till the seed they had put in should mature, as they now had very little to sustain their families. They asked permission to carry it away with them in vehicles they had or they would make. Philipps interpreted the clause of the treaty that gave

them the right to carry away their movable effects, cattle, etc., to mean simply to sell or dispose of them. They faced the difficulty, and set about preparing to depart by the only way left, without sacrificing everything, and that was by land. To do this a road was necessary ; so they began to make one from Minas to Annapolis. Very soon the Governor issued the following proclamation :

"I do further forbid any persons to quit their habitations clandestinely and without my leave." A special order was sent to Minas, "Not to cut any such road without having His Excellency's leave in writing." The reasons assigned for this further obstruction of the Acadiens was that they had design to molest Annapolis, or to drive off their cattle and effects to settle at Beaubassin, now a fortified position and in possession of the French, to stand in defiance of the Government. Their real purpose was divined, but it was not the intention of the Governor to allow them to leave the country. Philipps speaks of the Acadiens as being ungovernable, headstrong, and directed by bigoted priests. He says further, "We cannot let them go just now ; their departure would render our neighbors too powerful ; we *need them to erect our fortifications, and to provision our forts,* till the English are powerful enough of themselves to go on, and they must not withdraw before a considerable number of British subjects be settled in their stead. If they withdraw in spite of us a great many fine possessions will become vacant. I believe it will not be difficult to draw as many people almost

from New England as would supply their room, if it were not robbing a neighboring colony, without gaining much by the exchange; therefore I hope there are schemes forming at home to settle the country with British subjects in the spring, before which time these inhabitants do not think of moving, having the benefit of enlargement of time I granted. What is to be apprehended in the resettling of these farms is disturbance from the Indians, who do not like the Acadiens going off, and will not want prompting mischief."

Doucette was again Governor from 1722 to 1725, when he was succeeded by ARMSTRONG, a man of harsh temper and violent action. The records show that this man was at variance with everybody within his reach, at one time or other, inhabitants, officers, soldiers or priests. His arrival caused the departure of some of the French families, and the others were resolved to depart. This demanded a change of demeanor, as, with the other governors, he felt how important it was to keep the people in the country. By affirming that the laws of Great Britain did not permit a Roman Catholic to serve in the army, he succeeded in getting the Acadiens of Annapolis to take the oath of allegiance. The rest of the Province, about three-fourths of the population, were yet to be brought to terms. Two officers whom he sent to Minas, failed to make them British subjects. Subsequently Armstrong sent a young officer named Wroth, with ample powers, to deal with the people as the case demanded.

Copy of the oath, as obtained by Wroth :

" I do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King George the Second, so help me God."

Articles granted to the inhabitants of Minas :

" I, Robert Wroth, etc., etc., promise and grant in the name of the King, etc., etc., to the inhabitants of Minas, etc., the articles here below that they have requested of me, namely :

" 1. That they shall be exempt from taking up arms against anyone, so long as they shall be under the rule of the King of England.

" 2. That they shall be free to withdraw whithersoever they will think fit, and that they shall be discharged from this signed agreement as soon as they shall be outside the dominions of the King of England.

" 3. That they shall have full and entire liberty to practice their religion and to have Catholic, Apostolic and Roman priests."

The Governor accused Wroth of making too free use of his power, and when the matter came up before the Council, the oath was declared null and void ; but the inhabitants were held as being British subjects.

We have now come to an important chapter in the account of the Acadiens. The Lords of Trade in England were not pleased with the result of Armstrong's dealing with the question of the oath. PHILIPPS was called upon again to act as Governor. Knowing the people he had to deal with, he was well prepared to treat with them. He was well received in the Province, and a short time after he arrived at

Annapolis, in December of 1729, the people of that place took the oath of allegiance. It was too late in the season to go over the country to visit the other French centres, but by April of the following year the inhabitants of Minas had also become British subjects. Philipps allowed the restrictive clause by a verbal agreement, which exempted the Acadiens from bearing arms and fighting against the French and Indians. Philipps realized the impossibility of compelling the people to fight against their own countrymen; and to compromise in the difficulty, the qualifying clause was not embodied in the copy of the oath. No threats or attempts to compel the people were used. Although they had increased greatly in population, they showed themselves ready to yield to proper treatment, so long as their confidence was gained and no harsh measures were adopted. The people drew up a certificate, attested to by their priest, Charles de la Goudalie and the king's receiver, their notary, Alexander Bourg, called Bellehumeur. This document was addressed to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Paris as a record of the act.

CHAPTER V.

French Neutrals—Armstrong—Mascarene.

1730-1747.

FROM this date, 1730, the Acadiens were known as FRENCH NEUTRALS. This was the first real step taken by the people that would have led up to their full allegiance to the British Crown, had the proper methods been taken later in dealing with the people. They were slowly realizing that their only hope of safety lay with England, and in being united with the English colonies, although there was so poor a representation of power at Annapolis, until the founding of Halifax. The show of power, dignity and hauteur on the part of the Government did not always inspire confidence, when backed only by a half-starved and weak garrison and a tumbledown fort. The French of Canada, on the other hand, always claimed them; but, on several occasions, they refused to obey the French, even when strong influence and harsh threats were brought to bear against them. The Acadiens were not more illiterate than many isolated sections of New England. They were hard working and skilful in their special labors. They knew the value

of money, and learned where their trade interests were best. A high moral standard was always characteristic of the people as a whole. The strength of their religious, national and domestic attachment cannot be denied. To be left unmolested was the great desire of these simple and honest peasants. Social equality ruled them, and their domestic morals cannot be questioned.

Now that the vexatious question of the oath was settled, the people of Minas were left in comparative quiet, and increased rapidly in strength and wealth. For twenty years they enjoyed a certain measure of comfort and happiness in their increasing prosperity. Armstrong became Governor again in 1731, and remained at the head of affairs for nine years. He committed suicide in 1739. Armstrong was of an irritable and jealous disposition, and was seldom at peace even with his own officers and people. Fortunately Minas was some distance away from him, and in direct communication with Annapolis only about half the year, the Government being represented by the notary Alexander Bourg, who was receiver of the rents and revenues of the Crown. In 1732 Armstrong wished to establish a fort at Minas, but was prevented by the Indians. At another time he wished to force on the people a priest, Father Isidore, who had been interdicted for some offence by the ecclesiastical authorities. He effected his purpose, with the result that the people refused to attend church. Then, to punish them, Armstrong refused them a priest altogether.

It will be interesting to note the CONDITION OF THE ACADIENS with regard to their land at the beginning of Mascarene's administration as Lieutenant-Governor. No new grants of land had been made under Philips or Armstrong, as unappropriated land was granted to Protestants only. Acadian families had grown up, and the population had increased to a great extent. At Minas nearly all the available land had been dyked off. All the farms had been divided and re-divided as became necessary. Some had been compelled to remove to other parts of the Province. This state of affairs led more or less to litigations on account of unsettled boundaries, as land became more necessary, and retarded them in the progress they would otherwise have made. It gives us also an idea of the patience with which they tolerated the rigorous rule of their governors. This difficulty was never removed. Mascarene did much to gain the respect of the French. He was the son of a French Protestant, and had won his way by his own merit to the high position he now held. He possessed qualifications which fitted him well for the trying position he was called upon to fill—courteous, humane, dignified, firm, yet of strong and noble character.

France and England were at war in 1744. France was very desirous of regaining Acadie; and to this end it was believed by the authorities in Canada, that the Acadiens would at once lend their aid. A new and later generation had sprung up, and, as subsequent events proved, the English had little to fear from the

Acadiens, with all the influence and threats they were subjected to. Mascarene was not without doubt as to which way the people might turn. Acadie was invaded four times by the French, and every effort was made to secure the assistance of the *habitans*, but without avail. This was the order issued by the commander of the first expedition :

“ We order you to deliver up your arms, ammunition and those who contravene these orders shall be punished and delivered into the hands of the Indians, as we cannot refuse the demands these savages make for all those who will not submit themselves.”

The reply to this was :

“ We, the inhabitants of Mines, Grand-Pré, River Canard, Piziquid and the surrounding rivers, beg that you will be pleased to consider that while there would be no difficulty, by virtue of the strong force you command, in supplying yourself with the quantity of grain and meat you have ordered, it would be quite impossible for us to furnish the quantity you demand, or even a smaller, without placing ourselves in great peril.

“ We hope, gentlemen, that you will not plunge both ourselves and families into a state of total loss ; and that this consideration will cause you to withdraw your savages and troops from our districts.

“ We live under a mild and tranquil government, and we have all reason to be faithful to it. We hope, therefore, that you will not separate us from it, and that you will grant us the favor not to plunge us into

utter misery. This we hope from your goodness,
assuring you that we are, with very much respect,

"Your very humble and obedient servants,
"Acting for the communities above mentioned,

JACQUES LE BLANC,
PIERRE LE BLANC,
FRANCOIS LE BLANC,
RENÉ (X) GRANGER, his mark,
CLAUDE LE BLANC,
JACQUES TERREAU,
ANTOINE LANDRY,
JOSEPH (X) GRANGER, his mark,
PIERRE RICHARD,
RENÉ LE BLANC."

The expedition being unsuccessful at Annapolis,
it was proposed to winter the soldiers at Minas, but
the people objected so strongly they were obliged to
withdraw.

CHAPTER VI.

Noble at Grand-Pré—March of Coulon—Attack at Grand-Pré—
Capitulation of the English—Retaking of Grand-Pré.

1747-1748.

FRANCE was particularly unfortunate in her ATTEMPT TO RETAKE ACADIE. She had lost Louisburg, the greatest fortress in America, and in 1747 she sent a large fleet to recover it, and get possession of Acadie. As was natural, great excitement was caused by the report of these proceedings. In Canada it was believed that the Acadiens would assist the undertaking and rise against English rule. There were but two hundred and twenty soldiers at Annapolis, but New England took active measures to protect the territory, and companies of militia were soon drafted and sent to the Province. A detachment of troops was sent from Quebec to co-operate with the French fleet, under the command of Chevalier de Ramesay. He arrived at Chebucto, now Halifax, early in the spring of 1747. The ships not having arrived, he proceeded to Annapolis. Hearing no tidings of the French, he began the long journey back to Quebec by way of Minas, Beaubassin, St. John. Meanwhile, part of the fleet arrived at Chebucto, and orders were sent to Ramesay

to return, which he did, making the tedious march back to Annapolis in September. Here he waited in vain for the fleet to appear, till, losing hope, he for the second time began the toilsome march to Quebec. Storm and plague had destroyed the largest fleet France had ever sent across the waters. Mascarene at Annapolis had sent to Massachusetts for aid. In response to this appeal Shirley, Governor of that State, sent 500 volunteers under the command of COLONEL ARTHUR NOBLE. This officer had already seen service as Lieutenant-Colonel of a regiment at the siege of Louisburg, in 1745, and had shown conspicuous bravery in leading an attack. He had been home but a few months when he was called again to go to Nova Scotia. New England felt that it would be a serious menace to its interests to lose the Province. Farming and trading had made a fortune for Colonel Noble. On a considerable area of land on the Kennebec he had a palisaded fort to protect his estate from the savages.

Arriving at Annapolis in the autumn of 1747, the first detachment of men was sent to Minas by water. Severe weather turned them back, however, and in November about one hundred men marched overland, the ground being frozen. These were quartered on the inhabitants. The remainder sailed for the same place in ships with their cannon and munitions of war, and the frame of a blockhouse. Storms, drifting ice, and the strong tides of the Bay of Fundy, made their passage so dangerous and difficult that Noble resolved to finish the journey by land. On the 4th of Decem-

ber the force disembarked at French Cross, or Morden, about forty miles from their destination. Snow covered the ground, and the whole country was a forest. Without paths and without guides, the party crossed the North Mountain and pushed their way across the country towards the road from Annapolis which led them to the French settlements farthest up the Cornwallis. Their course lay through the populous villages of the Habitant and Canard rivers, across Minas River and along the south bank between Greenwich and Grand-Pré. Eight days and nights they toiled along the broken country, each man carrying provision for fourteen days. Noble found the village ready to receive him. The ships arrived safe, having gone on with the stores. Grand-Pré was the principal village of Minas, only one mile and a half from the landing place at the mouth of the Gaspereau, and in a commanding position. It overlooked the surrounding country, and was on the road running between Annapolis and Piziquid.

Twenty-four houses had been selected along the highway in which to quarter the soldiers. The ground was too much frozen to attempt to put up the block-house, and it was stored in outbuildings of the place. The vessels, together with their stores, ammunition, five small cannon and the supply of snowshoes, were left at the landing-place for the winter.

The village and surrounding country was under military rule, with Noble in command. He did not realize the danger of his position, although he kept scouting parties out over the country. The rest of

the men were taking their ease, living on the provisions of the villages, and on friendly terms with the inhabitants. The British flag had been hoisted on the church steeple, much to the horror of the Acadiens.

Winter had now set in, and the ships were held fast in the ice. Huge masses of brown-colored ice covered all the flats and river banks, and floated up and down with the changing of the tide. Navigation was stopped for the winter, and there was nothing to be done till spring. The nearest of the enemy were at Beaubassin, at the head of Chignecto Bay, on a neck of land connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Ramesay controlled the isthmus, having built a fort there. It was Noble's intention, as soon as it was practicable, to march on this point and drive off the French. There was no road by land, and a passage there was impossible by water. The snow lay deep over the country. Two hundred miles of dense forest lay between Noble and Ramesay. Several ice-blocked rivers guarded the way between Grand-Pré and Beaubassin. Noble thought himself absolutely safe from attack, for the difficulties he saw that made his moving on Beaubassin impracticable would also protect him from attack. Yet his scouts were ever on the alert, and guards were made to do duty. Near the centre of the village was a stone building in which Noble had placed the cannon, and to which he attached the main guard previously doing duty at his own quarters.

Meanwhile word had reached Ramesay of the arrival of the troops at Grand-Pré, and he learned

that it was Noble's intention to march against him in the spring. But he was misinformed as to the number of soldiers under Noble. He was told that there were two hundred and twenty, which was less than half. Ramesay had already made two arduous but fruitless marches to Annapolis. On the return from the last of these he had severely hurt his knee, and was unable to march. Calling a council of his officers, he proposed a bold enterprise, to which they gave eager assent. The proposal was to attack the enemy by a rapid march and night attack on Grand-Pré. As Ramesay was unable to lead the party, the command fell to the gallant Captain Coulon De Villiers. Immediate preparations were made for the march. Provisions were collected, snowshoes and sledges prepared, and in a short time the party was ready for the start. There was but one way to reach Grand-Pré, and that was by making the distance through the woods, and across the rivers near their head. The snow was over three feet deep, and the long march would afford but little shelter to these hardy warriors. In four days all arrangements were complete. Coulon had under his command two hundred and forty Canadians and twenty Indians. Here was the flower of the warlike Canadian *noblesse*—Coulon De Villiers, who, seven years later, defeated Washington; Beaujeu, the hero of future fights—a bold and determined warrior, without the appearance of it; the Chevalier de la Corne, Saint Pierre, Lanaudiere, Saint-ours, Desligneris, Courtemanche, Repentigney, Boishebert, Gaspe, Colombiere, Marin, Lusignan.

On the 21st of January the company started on its long march. Mile after mile they dragged their snow-sledges along, each with its provisions. There could be no wavering now. Their long winding track was as the trail of a serpent whose instinct led it to its prey. Over hills and through valleys and swamps they moved, till night overtook and compelled them to rest, and slumber came to their weary bodies. Through storms of snow and wind, or in the sharp frost of the Acadian forests they marched in the daytime. At night they were often glad to rest in holes scooped out of the soft snow, in such shelter as the forests offered. Many a meal they ate, thawing the frozen food in their mouths. Over the mountains and gorges of the Cobequids they tramped. At the head of the Bay they were met by messengers who brought them intelligence as to the exact number of the English at Grand-Pré, and what had been done there. This was startling news, but it did not deter them. They were able to procure provisions at villages they were now passing through, and recruits were added to their ranks. On reaching the River Shubenacadie, near the head of the Basin of Minas, they found it impassable from floating ice. Coulon resolved that the river must be crossed by a small party at this point to guard the road to Grand-Pré, so that intelligence might not be carried to the English of their approach. They were in territory now where the French were more favorable to the English. Boishebert, with ten Canadians, crossed the river in a canoe through the drifting ice, and was in great danger at times. The

main body continued up the river for three days before they could cross. Making their way through what is now Hants County, they were joined in a few days by Boishebert; and at last, on the 9th, they reached Piziquid, a large Acadien settlement.

The greatest caution was now observed, as they were but fifteen miles from Grand-Pré. Having traversed the distance from Beaubassin in safety, there must be no blunder now. Everything was in their hands; and to prevent failure, Coulon placed guards on every road leading to Minas. They rested till noon of the 10th, when they began their march again through a storm of snow. They moved slowly until they reached the Gaspereau River, almost south of the present village of Grand-Pré. They were divided into ten parties, to attack as many houses, which should be selected for the purpose. They were now but a mile and a half from their destination. Half frozen in the storm, they had to wait an hour for nightfall before they went any farther. When it grew dark they approached the village of Melanson, on the bank of the Gaspereau. Each of the parties took possession of one of the houses, and in a short time the shivering men were enjoying the warmth of fires made in the great fireplaces of the Acadien peasants. Where Coulon, the leader, found shelter, a wedding feast was going on. The arrival of these armed men, and the prospect of bloodshed, was a violent interruption to the happy proceedings. Coulon soon obtained all the information he desired as to the location of the English, and in what houses

they were lodging. He learned that Noble had divided his men into twenty-four parties, each in its own house. These houses were along the main road centring on Grand-Pré, and scattered over a distance of a mile and a half.

Calling his officers together, Coulon arranged the details of the attack. The French were not strong enough to attack all the houses; hence it was determined to divide the party into ten bands for simultaneous attack on the principal lodgements of the English. The French now numbered three hundred and forty-six men. The principal party, under Coulon himself, consisted of about fifty men, and included Beaujeau, Desligneris, Mercier, Lery and Lusignan, as his officers. This party was to attack a stone house where the main guard was placed, in a central position in the village. This building was larger than the rest, and more strongly defended. The next house to this was occupied by Colonel Noble, his brother, Ensign Noble, and several other officers. This was to be attacked by a smaller division of men commanded by La Corne, with Rigaudeau, Lagney and Villemont. The remaining parties were to attack the other houses selected. To make sure of the houses, guides were pressed into service, but in several cases they did not reach the right houses, and eventually they had to depend on the knowledge they gained of their positions before the attack.

About two o'clock in the morning, the whole body was drawn up on the road leading over the hill to Grand-Pré. Everything was ready for the march.

It was snowing steadily, as it had done for thirty hours. All the roads were impassable, except on snowshoes. The largest party, under Coulon, was to attack the stone house, but in the darkness of the night, made still more obscure by the thick-falling snow, they went astray, and about three in the morning they found themselves near a small house, where a guard was posted. The snow deadened every sound, and they were able to approach within a short distance of the building without being observed. The men were dashing forward to the attack, and the alarm was given before Coulon discovered that it was not the stone building. It was too late, however, to retreat, for the English were aroused from their sleep by the sentinel's alarm and the shot that killed him a moment later. Immediately from the house came the report and flash of muskets, and Coulon fell, severely wounded. The young cadet, Lusignan, was also hit, but he pushed on till a second ball shattered his thigh. This did not stop their advance, and in a short time they had captured the house, all but three of the defenders falling in the engagement.

The wounded officers were taken back to Melanson village, where the surgeon had been left. La Corne, who was second in command, had attacked the house where Noble was lodged. Here were Ensign Noble, Captain Howe, Lieutenants Pickering and Lechmere, who were ill, and Jones. They were aroused from their beds by the firing, and the French were on them before they could dress. The guard was small, as the main guard had been removed to the stone house,

where Noble had intended to take up his quarters. Noble received two musket balls in his body, but continued firing his pistols. The French called to him to surrender, promising quarter; but he refused, and on the next discharge he was struck in the forehead by a bullet and instantly killed. His brother was also shot, with the two lieutenants, while Captain Howe was wounded and made a prisoner.

There was sound of firing, far and near, till daylight. The French had taken several houses, including the buildings in which was the frame of the blockhouse. All the English not made prisoners had crowded into the stone house, which La Corne was blockading. Beaujeau and his party had been called to his assistance, and found him firing on the enemy from the house in which Noble had been killed. The English were now commanded by Captain Goldthwait. Some of his men made a sally, but could do nothing in the deep snow. Howe, who was bleeding to death, begged permission of La Corne to send for an English surgeon. Early in the afternoon a French officer with a flag of truce was sent to the English with a note from Howe, and remained as a hostage while the surgeon dressed the wounds of the Englishman. On the return of the men, the truce was prolonged till the next morning.

The courtesy of the French in the treatment of Howe led up to the SURRENDER OF THE ENGLISH. The stone house was crowded to suffocation by three hundred and fifty men. They had five small cannon, but no ammunition except what each carried with

him, and that was much reduced by the hours of firing. All their supplies were now in the hands of the French. They had, moreover, but one day's provisions, and little prospect of improving their condition. At the expiration of the truce, the English commander and one of his officers, with a white flag, came to the French to propose terms of capitulation. Howe acted as an interpreter, and the terms were soon arranged. The French were victorious in one of the most gallant exploits in French-Canadian history. The English were to march for Annapolis with the honors of war within forty-eight hours. The Indians were to keep the plunder they had taken. The prisoners of the French should remain in their hands. The English sick and wounded should be left at the Canard River till they recovered, protected by a French guard. None of the English should bear arms during the next six months within the districts of Minas or Chignecto.

The English loss was one hundred killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded and fifty captured. The French loss was seven killed and fifteen wounded. The assailing force numbered three hundred and fifty men, while the English had about five hundred and twenty-five men. Eleven of the twelve houses attacked were taken.

Howe soon recovered from his wound, and was exchanged for five Canadians some time later. He finally fell a victim to Indian treachery at Beaubassin. Coulon left Minas by the 12th of February. He caused the blockhouse to be destroyed and the cannon made

useless. At the foot of the bank alongside the present road leading to the French well and willows, a grave was dug and all the dead buried, except Colonel Noble and his brother. These officers were interred on the right of the road, farther up the hill, on what is now Mr. Laird's property, between two large apple trees. To-day nothing marks the spot where these brave men were buried.

Colonel Noble was defeated through a false idea of the security of his position. He had been warned by the Acadiens at Minas that the French would attack him. He did not believe the French could reach him, and made but little preparation for defence.

The French were now in possession of Minas, a part of Acadie, and De Ramesay at once proclaimed that the Acadiens owed submission to France. In the state of perplexity this left them in, they wrote to Mascarenhe. Ramesay had written to the Governor of Quebec and the Bishop of Quebec for confirmation of his proclamation ; then he issued a new proclamation in the name of the King of France, ordering them to take up arms against the English. All this did not materially affect the condition of affairs at Minas. Captain Rous, sent by Shirley of Massachusetts, came with a 24-gun brig, two armed schooners and three hundred men. One hundred and fifty men were landed, and a flag hoisted at the stone house. The force remained four days and then retired. In August of 1748, a quantity of goods was sent around to Minas, in a sloop convoyed by two armed schooners and H. M. S. *Port Mahon*, in payment for the provisions furnished

in 1746 to Colonel Noble. The value was £3,200, Massachusetts currency. The goods were molasses, salt, sugar, linen, striped calico, cloth, scythes and wood axes. There is a full account of the settlement of the transaction, and receipts. These last were signed by the *ancients* of Minas, René Le Blanc, Jac. Terriot, Fras. Le Blanc, — Dougas, and by the deputies of Minas, Bern. Daigre, Fras. Boudrot, Mich'l Le Blanc, Paul Oquine; and by the deputies of River Canard, Jean Terriot, Oliver Deglass, Jean Granger, Michael Richard. Canard at this time included all the territory north of the Minas River. Piziquid was included in the transactions.

CHAPTER VII.

Halifax Founded—Cornwallis—Hopson—Lawrence.

1749—1755.

IN 1749 there were probably 10,000 Acadiens in the Province, living in Annapolis, at Minas, Piziquid, at Cobiquid, and at Beaubassin. To anticipate the deportation, it may be stated here that there were about 6,000 persons removed in 1755, two-thirds of these from Minas and Piziquid. Of the 1,000 who escaped into the woods, many were afterwards taken and sent out of the Peninsula. About 3,000 had made their way into the country to the north.

During the few years preceding the expulsion, since the Acadiens had increased so rapidly in numbers there was frequent mention of them in Government documents. The English Government on numerous occasions urged the necessity of just treatment of the French Acadiens, recommending such acts as should eventually make the people wholly in sympathy with the local rulers. They were to be assured that no effort would be put forth to remove them from the Province. They were to be left in quiet possession of their property, and to enjoy the free exercise of their religion. During the war the people had been deeply

agitated over the report that Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, proposed to take some of their land and to intersperse Protestants among them, granting certain privileges to those French who would come over to Protestantism. He had written to England describing a scheme whereby the French Catholics might be made Protestants. As may be supposed, this report left them very uneasy.

IN 1749, HALIFAX WAS FOUNDED and became the seat of Government, with EDWARD CORNWALLIS as Governor. Between Halifax and Minas there was only a trail, but in a few days Jean Melanson from Canard, and Claude Le Blanc from Grand-Pré, presented the respects of their people to Cornwallis. They then learned that a proclamation to the Acadiens had been drawn up, and they were ordered to make it public in their districts. By this document they were called upon to take the oath without restriction, and to despatch deputies to Halifax within fifteen days with their resolution. At the time appointed, deputies from all the French districts, representing over 10,000 people, appeared before Cornwallis. In all their behavior they were respectful, yet determined to the point of obstinacy in their requests. Cornwallis informed them that no exemption would be allowed in taking the oath, and that all the people would have to swear allegiance by the 26th of October, or forfeit all their rights and possessions in the Province. The deputies again departed to make this known to the people, and returned with the reply in a few weeks. They brought a paper to the

Governor, signed by a thousand inhabitants. This referred to the oath they had already taken, and of the privileges they had enjoyed under other Governors, and of the reliance they had placed in His Majesty, having rendered service without a wish or attempt to violate the oath. It spoke of the danger they were in from the Indians. They would take the old oath as given to Philipps. If this were refused them they were resolved to leave the country.

Cornwallis was in error in his estimate of the Acadiens. Finding that they could not be moved as he desired, he became haughty and harsh, and indulged in threats which he did not carry out. "It is only out of pity to your inexperience that we descend to reason with you, otherwise the question would not be reasoning but commanding and being obeyed." He then wrote to the Lords of Trade, stating what had transpired, and his purpose to make the Acadiens as useful as possible while they stayed. At the same time he placed every obstacle in the way of their leaving the Province.

The French at this time were building a fort at Beausejour, and every effort was made through Abbe le Loutre, Micmac missionary, to get the Acadiens over to the territory that was claimed by the French. The Acadian centres were in a state of agitation and excitement. The people were in serious doubt as to what would be the next move taken by Cornwallis. His arbitrary action and harshness were not conciliating them to English rule. As Cornwallis was too much taken up with affairs at Halifax to move against

Beausejour, the efforts of the French led a number of the Acadiens to act against the English, with the Indians. It was now late in the year for a general departure, yet some families joined their countrymen. To check any unexpected move, an English force was sent to Minas under Captain Handfield. As it was too late in the season to build barracks they enclosed three houses in a triangular picketing, with half bastions. The situation was low and flat, commanded by a hill, and so exposed that in the deep snow of winter it was often possible to walk over the palisades. A blockhouse had been taken from Annapolis and erected within the enclosure. This fort became known as *VIEUX LOGIS*. Handfield had under his command three subalterns and a hundred men. The people assisted the soldiers, and supplied provisions. They also aided the poorer settlers in building their houses in Halifax, and cleared a road to that place from Minas, eighteen feet wide.

Minas was now under military guard, to which it submitted quietly. I cannot do better than quote from an article by a Canadian writer:

"For forty years after the Treaty of Utrecht they increased and prospered, and had England treated them from the commencement with fairness, and kept in the Province sufficient force to show them she was not to be trifled with, and there was no prospect of France regaining her old dominions by the sea, they might have been gradually won from their fidelity to the land of their origin, and taught to pay willing allegiance to their new masters, who, under all circum-

stances, had treated them with great consideration and at the same time with obvious weakness. Had they been allowed to remain in the country, under the checks of a sufficient military force and populous English settlements, the ten thousand Acadian French that occupied the fertile districts of the Province in the middle of the last century would eventually have increased to a very large number, and exercised a most important influence on the social, religious and political conditions of Nova Scotia, even while remaining loyal to England. In other words, Nova Scotia might have been another French Canada."

In October of this year, three hundred Micmacs and St. John Indians, instigated by the French, blockaded the fort at Minas, for the purpose of giving the Acadiens an opportunity to leave the country, and take off their cattle and property. Finding the people fixed in their resolve to wait till they should learn from the Governor what was to be done with them, the Indians departed. They had surprised a detachment under Captain Hamilton, consisting of eighteen men, and with these prisoners, and the notary Le Blanc, they left the country. No one had been killed by the engagement, although the firing had been kept up for several days. The prisoners were released some time later.

In 1750, the English had firm control of the French centres of the Province. Another fort had been built at Piziquid, which, with the garrison at Minas and at Annapolis, protected the Acadiens and kept them in touch with Halifax. Cornwallis was still demanding

of the Acadiens to take the oath, and they never ceased to plead for permission to leave the country with their property. It is needless to dwell on the particulars of the administration of Cornwallis. Cause after cause was assigned why the Acadiens should not leave the Province.

When Hopson succeeded Cornwallis the Acadiens were raising great crops, much more than they required for their own use. The fort, Vieux Logis, had fallen into decay, and it was not deemed advisable to repair it. In consequence of this, the garrison was sent to Fort Edward, at Piziquid. Hopson, more humane than Cornwallis, saw how difficult it would be to force the people to take the oath, which had been the cause of so much trouble. He knew how valuable the people were to the country. He was able in a short time to make a treaty with the Indians of the east coast, and would have done much to soften the condition of the Acadiens, if ill health had not compelled him to retire from the position, but fifteen months after he became Governor. The Acadiens had passed through the period of excitement and agitation caused by the founding of a large English town in the Province. The following order from the Governor gives us a good idea of the condition of affairs at this time. For a time, at least, they were not to be treated like slaves:

" You are to look upon the Acadiens in the same light with the rest of His Majesty's subjects, as to the protection of the laws and Government, for which reason nothing is to be taken from them by force, or

any price set upon their goods but what they themselves agree to ; and, if at any time they should obstinately refuse to comply with what His Majesty's service may require of them, you are not to redress yourself by military force, or in any unlawful manner, but to lay the case before the Governor and wait his orders thereon. You are to cause the following orders to be stuck up in the most public part of the fort, both in English and French :

“ 1st. The provisions or any other commodities that the Acadiens shall bring to the fort to sell, are not to be taken from them at any fixed price, but to be paid for according to a free agreement made between them and the purchasers.

“ 2nd. No officer, non-commissioned officer or soldier shall presume to insult or otherwise abuse any of the Acadiens, who are upon all occasions to be treated as His Majesty's subjects, and to whom the laws of the country are open, to protect as well as to punish.

“ At the season of laying in fuel for the fort . . . ”

It is refreshing to read this after the heartless and haughty manner of the earlier governors. What might not a few years of firm and kindly government have done with these unfortunate people ? It was not to be. Hopson sailed for England after his short rule.

The last, the most famous, the most infamous, of all the governors of Nova Scotia is now before us, who is to introduce the last act in the Acadian drama. This is CHARLES LAWRENCE, the man who will ever be remembered for his connection with the deporta-

tion of the Acadiens. He was a soldier, bold and active, keen and intelligent, but ambitious and unscrupulous to the highest degree. His antecedents were humble, but being endowed with more than ordinary ability, without the restraints of a refined or noble nature, he gave way, when opportunity offered for high purpose and manly action, to the baser and more sordid impulses which seem to have ruled his life. He was, moreover, haughty and disdainful in manner. Without real friends, his acts received support from his agents and from those who were unable to resist him. Of low cunning, a consummate flatterer of the higher, an oppressor of the weak, with false promises and every effort to accomplish his own personal ends, Lawrence has the unenviable distinction of having caused the expatriation of the Acadiens, and of having done it with great cruelty. These facts have come to light only within a few years, through the researches of French writers. Many State documents relating to the administration of Lawrence have been lost, or, as it is now believed, intentionally destroyed.

The Acadiens had been threatened with various forms of punishment by almost all the governors, and had learned the lesson of humility and patience, all to no purpose—or perhaps to great purpose, when the bitterness of their days was on them in their homeless wanderings. In the light of later facts thrown upon their condition, it is almost beyond belief that a people should be so patient and quietly persevering in their effort to remain upon their lands under all the

imposition practised upon them. If individuals acted against the peace of the country, a most cruel persecution followed the whole people, thinly disguised under various pretexts. The treatment accorded the people had become a matter of practice long established. Unfortunately for them, they were found too submissive. Their homes were their all, and they bore insult and indignity for forty years in the vain hope that a time would come when they would be finally secure on the lands their fathers had taken from the sea, and made beautiful and rich beyond any other in America. Every act of obedience to governmental order and demand seemed to leave them more at the mercy of men who, from national prejudice or lack of human feeling, preyed upon their weakness, and for many years left them in the power of whim and circumstance. Every argument has been made in our own day to influence opinion against these people, and to excuse or palliate the brutalities of men because of their connection with the British Government.

Lawrence had only been provisional Governor till 1745. The scheme of the deportation of the Acadiens had been maturing in his mind ; but now, with fuller power, his purpose took more definite shape. Many documents and reports show a fixed resolve on his part to get rid of the Acadiens. Complaints were frequent, and every possible reason assigned to show that it was necessary to remove the people. The acts of individuals were charged to the whole people. What was done at Beaubassin was punished at Minas,

as well as at other Acadian centres. It must be here understood that when finally the people were taken from their homes, *it was done without the sanction of the English Government*, and was so carried out because of the length of time required to carry messages across the water between England and the Province; and *that orders forbidding this action were received too late to prevent it*.

Hopson's humane orders were revoked: "If they should fail to comply, you will assure them that the next courier will bring an order for military execution."

"No excuse will be taken for not fetching fire-wood, and if they do not do it in proper time the soldiers shall take their houses for fuel." Such were the brutal orders of Lawrence.

The English were now in position to control the Acadian centres of Nova Scotia. The French fort at Beausejour had fallen, a few hundred Acadiens who had through persuasions and threats assisted the French with their presence, when fighting began, refused to assist their countrymen. There were over 10,000 in the Province who had refused to leave their homes, under all the pressure of every influence that could be brought to bear upon them, and in the face of every provocation arising out of the attitude and behavior of Lawrence. The failure of the Acadiens to assist the French was assigned as the cause of their defeat. There was now no ground for fear. The Acadiens proved themselves poor soldiers. Their only desire was to be left unmolested on their lands.

On the 6th of June, one hundred men from Fort Edward, Windsor, and fifty from the garrison at Halifax, came to Minas. The party reached Grand-Pré in the evening and distributed themselves two in a house. At midnight they **SEIZED ALL THE ARMS AND AMMUNITION** they could find. This was accomplished without resistance. The soldiers met at Grand-Pré in the morning and placed the arms on board a boat which had been sent for the purpose, and they were carried to Fort Edward. The real purpose had not been made known until the outrage was committed, not because of fear of the Acadiens, but that as many of their arms as possible should be secured. Yet only about one-fifth of the whole number was found. Shortly after this an order was issued demanding of the Acadiens the surrender of all their arms, under penalty of being treated as rebels. The result was that about 2,900 were given up. The people then addressed a petition to Lawrence, couched in respectful terms, and showing in all fairness in what position they stood :

" We, the inhabitants of Mines, Piziquid and the River Canard, take the liberty of approaching Your Excellency for the purpose of testifying our sense of the care which the Government exercises over us.

" It appears, sir, that Your Excellency doubts the sincerity with which we have promised to be faithful to His Britannic Majesty.

" We most humbly beg Your Excellency to consider our past conduct. You will see that, very far from violating the oath we have taken, we have maintained

it in its entirety, in spite of the solicitations and the dreadful threats of another power. We will entertain, sir, the same pure and sincere disposition to prove under any circumstances, our unshaken fidelity to His Majesty, provided that His Majesty shall allow us the same liberty that he has granted us. We earnestly beg Your Excellency to have the goodness to inform us of His Majesty's intentions on this subject, and to give us assurances on his part.

"Permit us, if you please, sir, to make known the annoying circumstances in which we are placed, to the prejudice of the tranquillity we ought to enjoy. Under pretext that we are transporting our corn or other provisions to Beausejour and the River St. John, we are no longer permitted to carry the least quantity of corn by water from one place to another. We beg Your Excellency to be assured that we have never transported provisions to Beausejour or to River St. John. If some refugee inhabitants from Beausejour have been seized with cattle, we are not on that account by any means guilty, inasmuch as the cattle belonged to them as private individuals, and they were driving them to their respective habitations. As to ourselves, sir, we have never offended in that respect; consequently, we ought not, in our opinion, to be punished; on the contrary, we hope that Your Excellency will be pleased to restore to us the same liberty that we enjoyed formerly, in giving us the use of our canoes, either to transport our provisions from one river to another, or for the purpose of fishing; thereby providing for our livelihood. This permission has

never been taken from us except at the present time. We hope, sir, that you will be pleased to restore it, specially in consideration of the number of poor inhabitants who would be very glad to support their families with the fish that they would be able to catch. Moreover, our guns, which we regard as our own personal property, have been taken from us, notwithstanding the fact that they are absolutely necessary to us, to defend our cattle which are attacked by the wild beasts, or for the protection of our children and ourselves. Any inhabitant who may have his oxen in the woods, and who may need them for purposes of labor, would not dare expose himself in going for them without being prepared to defend himself. It is certain, sir, that since the Indians have ceased frequenting our parts, the wild beasts have greatly increased, and that our cattle are devoured by them almost every day. Besides, the arms that have been taken from us are but a feeble guarantee of our fidelity. It is not the gun which an inhabitant possesses that will induce him to revolt, nor the privation of the same gun that will make him more faithful; but his conscience alone must induce him to maintain his oath. An order has appeared in Your Excellency's name, given at Fort Edward, June 4th, 1755, by which we are commanded to carry guns, pistols, etc., etc., to Fort Edward. It appears to us, sir, that it would be dangerous for us to execute that order before representing to you the danger to which this order exposes us. The Indians may come and threaten and plunder us, reproaching us for having furnished arms to kill them. We hope,

sir, that you will be pleased, on the contrary, to order that those taken from us be restored to us. By so doing you will afford us the means of preserving both ourselves and our cattle.

"In the last place we are grieved, sir, at seeing ourselves declared guilty without being aware of having disobeyed. One of our inhabitants of the River Canard, named Pierre Melanson, was seized and arrested in charge of his boat, before having heard any order forbidding that sort of transport. We beg Your Excellency, on this subject, to have the goodness to make known to us your good pleasure before confiscating our property and considering us in fault. This is the favor we expect from Your Excellency's kindness, and we hope you will do us the justice to believe that very far from violating our promises, we will maintain them, assuring you that we are, very respectfully,

"Sir, your very humble and obedient servants."

Hearing that the Governor looked upon the petition as impertinent, they drew up another on June 24th, 1755, disclaiming any intention of being without proper respect for the Government, and that they all shared the same intentions and feelings in the matter. They acknowledged being embarrassed in his presence and begged to be excused for their timidity, and if anything seemed hard in their petition, they asked permission to explain their intention. This was signed by forty-four inhabitants in the name of Minas, Canard and Piziquid.

As might be expected, the answer given shows the

Governor's intention to find offence in everything the Acadiens represented to him. "The memorial of the 10th of June is highly arrogant and insidious, and deserves the highest resentment."

In view of the charges that have been made against them, let us review the situation a moment. The people had been accused of aiding the Indians, when, in point of fact, the Micmacs had left the Province and were in New Brunswick. The Indians had been for some time a menace and a danger to them, and they were glad to be separated from them. At the building of Vieux Logis, at Grand-Pré, the Acadiens had been harassed by them because of their seeming sympathy with the English, and because they had not endeavored to prevent it. The Acadiens had repeatedly, moreover, given valuable intelligence to the British. They had warned Noble previous to the attack of Grand-Pré. But few of the Minas people had gone over to the French; and these, with the Acadiens of other parts of the Province who had taken up arms, were compelled to do so against their own wishes, under penalty of death. For forty years they had been refused titles to their land, and the privilege of taking up new land, or of extending their own. They had always been thrifty and industrious, performing great labor in dyke-building, and in setting out orchards which, after one hundred and forty-three years, are yet bearing fruit. Their lands in most cases had been divided and subdivided among the children. Yet they produced more than was needed for the whole Province. They had two beautiful churches and abundance of goods.

We now return to the delegates who were in Halifax. Lawrence requested them to take the oath. They begged to be allowed to consult with their people again. Lawrence refused this, giving them twenty-four hours to decide. Their answer given next day was that they could not do so without meeting with their own people to determine for, or against, the oath. This refusal caused them to be treated as prisoners.

Instructions were at once sent to Murray, at Piziquid, to demand of the Acadiens of Minas new delegates, and if the oath was not taken, the Government would set about to remove them from the Province. It appears certain that Lawrence projected the deportation early in 1755, and had carefully worked out the details of the scheme. All the arms of the Acadiens were in the hands of the Government, without which they could make but little resistance. Their priests and archives were carried off. He had concealed his purpose from the English Government till too late for their intervention. Boscowan, in command of the fleet which had supported the movement against the French at Beausejour, had been induced to favor the scheme, as well as the Council at Halifax. In intimating to the Lords of Trade that he purposed demanding of the Acadiens an unqualified oath of allegiance, and if they refused it, stating he intended to send them *out of the country to France*, he was plainly deceiving the Lords of Trade. Meanwhile, three months would be necessary to receive an answer from England.

M. M. J.

On July 5th, one hundred delegates appeared before Lawrence, in obedience to his demand, and delivered their petitions. Those of Grand-Pré and vicinity in their petition, signed by two hundred and three, referred to the oath taken by them in Philipps' time, and of their intention not to take any other. "Charity for our detained inhabitants, and their innocence, oblige us to beg Your Excellency to be touched by our miseries, and to restore to them their liberty, with all possible submission and the most profound respect."

The deputies were imprisoned, with those already confined, and kept so till late in the year when the whole people were deported. The following statement of events by Abbe Daudin will be read with interest :

"For a long time the English never spoke to the Acadiens except to announce their ruin in the near future. They were told that they would be mere slaves, that they would be dispersed by the Irish; in short, everything foreboded the destruction of their nation; there was talk of nothing else but burning the houses and laying waste the fields. However, the inhabitants were not discouraged, as is proved by the most abundant harvest that was ever seen in the country. Prayer was the only weapon they used against the English. After the taking of Beausejour, they made a show of commanding the inhabitants on holidays to go to the fort and sharpen all their instruments of war, telling them these weapons were to destroy them after they had cut to pieces their brethren who were refugees with the French.

"When the Grand-Pré delegates had started for Halifax, there came to Annapolis an order, etc., etc.

"When the delegates from all parts had arrived to the number of about one hundred, they were called before the Council, when they were immediately told that no propositions or explanations would be received from them . . . He put the following very plain question to them : 'Will you or will you not swear to the King of Great Britain that you will take up arms against the King of France, his enemy ?' The answer was not less laconic than the question. 'Since,' they said, 'we are asked only for a yes or no, we will answer unanimously, No ;' adding, however, that what was required of them tended to despoil them of their religion and everything else.

"Immediately the Governor gave orders to transport them on a small island, distant as far as a cannon-ball would carry from Halifax, whither they were conducted like criminals, and where they remained until the end of October, fed on a little bread, deprived of receiving any assistance as well as of speaking to any one.

"The Governor imagined that this harshness would soften their courage ; he found them as firm as ever. He took the resolution of betaking himself to the aforesaid island with a numerous retinue, accompanied by all the instruments of torture, in order to try to soften their courage at the sight of this spectacle. In the midst of this display befitting a tyrant, he asked them if they persisted in their answers. One of them replied, 'Yes, and more than ever ; we have God for

us and that is enough.' The Governor drew his sword and said : ' Insolent fellow, you deserve that I should run my sword through your body.' The peasant presented his breast to him, and, drawing nearer, said : ' Strike, sir, if you dare ; I shall be the first martyr of the band ; you can kill my body, but you shall not kill my soul.' The Governor, in a sort of frenzy, asked the others if they shared the feelings of that insolent fellow who had just spoken. All with one voice exclaimed : ' Yes, sir ! Yes, sir ! '

" After carrying off the priests, the English raised their flag above the churches and made the latter into barracks when their troops passed there. The missionaries reached Halifax with this fine accompaniment, drums beating. They were led out on the parade, where they were exposed for three-quarters of an hour to mockery, contempt and insults."

It was evidently the desire of Lawrence that the Acadiens should not take the oath. He acted promptly. Everything was ripe for the undertaking. New England troops were in the country, having assisted in the capture of Beausejour. In a letter to the commandant, Moncton, he informed him that the French of that place were to be removed at once, as soon as transports, which had been ordered, should come up the Bay. Very full particulars were given as to the removal of the people and the seizure of property and cattle. Not the slightest trace of pity or compunction is apparent in the orders he issued to the officers in command at the different centres. If the people had been animals or wild beasts, and likely

to escape in spite of his vigilance, he could not have been more merciless in working out the soulless scheme of the deportation. He gave positive orders again and again to secure the cattle of the people. In herding the people together to prevent any from escaping, the utmost effort was to be made.

Colonel Winslow, who was at Beausejour, received orders to embark with his regiment, consisting of three hundred men, and sail for Grand-Pré. He arrived at Minas on the 15th of August, whence he proceeded to Windsor to consult with Murray, in command at Fort Edward, as to the details of the work they were about to perform.

Winslow in his journal has given us a full account of his stay at Grand-Pré. Let us make a brief review of the Acadiens on the eve of departing from their homes, to which they were never to return. All too thoroughly was the work carried out at Minas, as we shall see.

CHAPTER VIII.

Minas before the Deportation.

1755.

IN 1753, THE POPULATION of the Acadien section of Minas was about 4,500. From Blomidon on the north along the shores of Minas Basin, and up all the rivers emptying into it, to the Gaspereau in the south; and from Avonport on the east to New Minas in the west, the country of Minas lay with village after village nestling near the meadows the people had reclaimed from the sea. The church at Grand-Pré and at Canard made two centres around which clustered the happy homes of a peaceful people, homes that had been theirs and their forefathers for eighty-four years. Doubtless some of the ancients remembered when the chief founders had come to Habitant and Canard, and later to Grand-Pré. The people were as a rule long-lived. During the years of their occupation of Minas many rows of willows had grown up. Scattered over the country orchards marked the places of their thrift and labor. Miles of dyke made rich meadows, on which at this time their harvests were ripening; and prosperity, which seemed to smile upon them, made the parting all the more cruel when they had to

depart from so lovely a land. Many families were in grief because of the absence of those who were prisoners at Halifax, but no thought of the awful fate that was to be their own came to them. No words can paint the horror that was to follow.

In the summer, the men of Minas were employed in husbandry, having their dykes and farms to attend to. In winter they cut timber, fuel and fencing. Fish and game were abundant. The Acadiens were honest, sober and frugal; the women virtuous and industrious, and engaged chiefly in carding, spinning, and weaving wool, flax and hemp, which they produced in abundance. They had, besides, the fur of numerous animals, such as bear, beaver, otter, fox, marten, moose, and cariboo. This made them handsome clothing, or was traded with the English and French for such articles as they needed. Their dyes were ordinarily black and green. Scarlet they obtained by carding and spinning the English duffel, which they wove in stripes to decorate the women's garments. They had long ago learned the necessity of making use of the natural conditions of their surroundings, so that their habits and customs were characteristic of the country. It was all the harder for them when the conditions were changed by being driven away from their own country, to begin life anew in places entirely different from what they had known. Many of them had been born to the lives they were now living, and, so to speak, they had become part of the soil.

The country of Minas was abundant in provision of all kinds which it produced. An ox could be

bought for five dollars, a sheep for one dollar, and wheat for thirty-five cents a bushel. When a young woman could weave a bolt of cloth, and a young man make a wheel, they might marry. If a couple were to be married, the whole village in which they lived lent a hand to build a house, clear some land; and supplied them with cattle, hogs and poultry. Large families are characteristic of the people even at the present time. Various amusements made the cold winter pleasant. Singing, dancing and open hospitality cheered their homes. They lived as one large family, bound by the ties of religion, race and kinship. The following hymns they sang on the last days of their stay in Nova Scotia :

I.

Faux plaisirs, vous sonneurs, bien frivoles
Ecoutez aujourd'hui nos adieux :
Trop long temps vous fûtes no idoles :
Trop long temps vous charmetz nos yeux—
Loin de nous la fidèle esperance,
De trouer en vous notre bonheur,
Avec nous heureux en apparence,
Nous partens la chagrin dans le cœur.

II.

Tout passe—
Sous le firmament—
Tout n'est que changement—
 Tout passe—
Ainsi que sur la glise—
Le mond va roulant,
En dit en s'ecoulant—
 Tout passe—

C'est la mèrite
Hormis l'éternité
Tout passe—
Faisons valoir la grâce
Le temps est précieux
Ouvrez devant nos yeux
Tout passe—
Les champs, les rangs,
Le petits et les grands—
Tout passe—
D'autres *frequent* la place
Et s'en vaut à leur tour
Dans a mortel séjour
Tout passe.

III.

Vive Jésus
Vive Jésus
Avec la croix son *chere* portage—
Vive Jésus
Dans le cœurs de tout les élus—
Sa croix de son cœur—est le gage—
Futil au plus bel héritage
Vive Jésus—
Portens la croix—
Sans choix, sans ennui, sans murmure.
Portens la croix—
Quand nous en servons aux choix
Quoique très amère et très dure—
Maigré le sous et la nature
Portens la croix.

Many French willows are standing to-day, living testimony of the Acadian occupation. All over Minas stand these immense trees, marking the site of roads or houses before 1755. No other memorials save the old dykes tell of the hapless race whose country this

was, and whose only happiness was here. The willow is extremely tenacious of life. A green limb broken from a tree and thrust into the earth will take root and grow. In this respect it is a fitting memorial of the people who set them out; a foreign growth that has become indigenous. The tree was brought from France at an early day.

The French road ran through the present village of Grand-Pré, north of the main highway, which it joined near Scott's Corner. Thence the road led to Johnson's Hollow just beyond the Academy boarding house. Here it diverged and lay near the railroad to Kentville. From the village of Grand-Pré to the landing-place on the Gaspereau River was a road. What was known as the Island, where the well and willows are, had a road running its length. From the main village of Grand-Pré, the road to Windsor ran south over the hill to Walbrook, and crossed the river at that point by a sunken bridge, which could be used only at low tide. We have the names of all the villages, as they were known to the Acadiens. We have also the names of a great many of the men and boys who were taken away. According to Winslow the list is:

Males, from ten years.....	446
Deputies, prisoners at Halifax	37
Men	— 483
Women, married	387
Sons	527
Daughters	526
	— 1,923
Old and infirm, not mentioned	820
	—
	2,743

It is positively known that Winslow did not secure all the people at Minas, as the whole number was greater than here given.

<i>Villages.</i>	<i>No. of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Location.</i>
De Landry	38	North of Minas or Cornwallis River.
Claude Terriau ..	41	" " "
Des Landry	4	" " "
Granger	44	" " "
Jean Terriau	65	" " "
Comeau	74	" " "
Michel	27	" " "
Aucoine	77	" " "
Trahan	38	" " "
Poirier	20	" " "
Saulnier	32	" " "
Brun	64	" " "
Dupuis	65	" " "
Hebert	19	" " "
Francois	3	" " "
<i>Pinons</i>	7	" " "
Antoine	51	" " "
Claude	80	" " "
Hebert Co Ero (?)	74	" " "
Claud Landry	74	" " "
<i>Navie</i>	3	" " "
Jean Le Blanc ...	30	South of Minas River.
Pierre Le Blanc ..	60	" " "
Grand Le Blanc ..	42	" " "
Richard	49	" " "
<i>Pinour</i>	2	" " "
Melanson	52	Gaspereau.
Michel	57	" "
De Petit (Gotro)	94	About Grand-Pré.
Landry	15	(Omitted) Canard.

<i>Villages.</i>	<i>No. of Inhabitants.</i>	<i>Location.</i>
Comeau	4	Canard.
Granger	4	"
Pinue	3	"
Hebert	5	"
Jean Teriau	2	"
<i>La Coste</i>	2	"
<i>Grand-Pré</i>	20	Grand-Pré.
<i>Gaspereau</i>	41	Gaspereau.

All the names except those in italics are the names of individuals or families. They are given here as they were listed by Winslow.

The principal villages on the south side of Minas River, now the Cornwallis, sometimes called Minas or Grand-Pré, were Gotro, Pierre Le Blanc, Michel, Melanson, Grand Le Blanc, Gaspereau, Jean Le Blanc and Grand-Pré. On the north side of the same river, the villages of the Canard section, sometimes called Habitant and Canard, because the settlements were mainly on the Habitant and Canard rivers, were named: Claude Landry, Antoine, Hebert, Dupuis, Brun, Trehan, Saulnier, Poirier and Hebert. The remaining villages had less than twenty inhabitants.

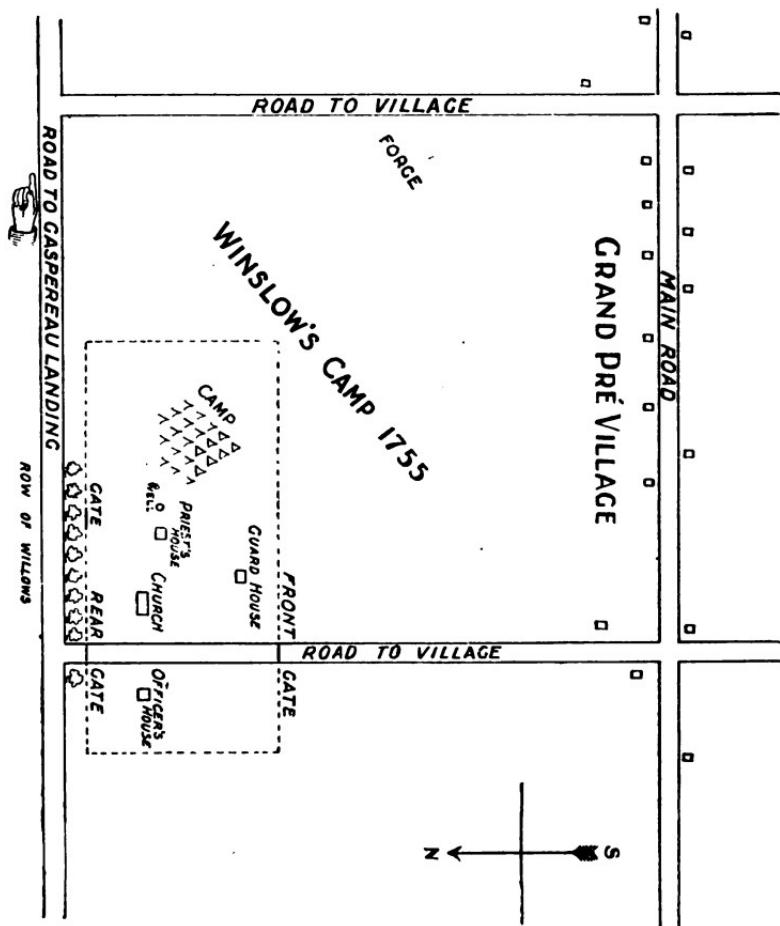
At Grand-Pré and Gaspereau, and along the south side of Minas, the common names of the Acadiens in the order of their frequency were: Le Blanc, Melanson, Hebert, Richard. On the north side the common names were: Boudro, Comeau, Landry, Aucoine, Granger, Terriaud, Dupuis.

CHAPTER IX.

Winslow at Grand-Pré—Proclamation Issued—First Embarkation
—Second Embarkation—Final Embarkation.

1755.

WE now find WINSLOW AT GRAND-PRÉ. He had arrived on the 15th, and took up his quarters on the plain where the church and the priest's house were. The tents of the soldiers were pitched about the churchyard, and Winslow occupied the priest's house, which overlooked the encampment on the east. The officers were lodged in a small house near by. The sacred things of the church had been removed by the elders of the village, on the order of the commander, and it became an arsenal and storehouse. Preparations were made at once to surround the camp with a palisade, to prevent surprise, and to protect the position against any possible attack. The place was well chosen. The church was large enough to hold several hundred people, and was in future to serve as a prison for four hundred men, besides a large guard of soldiers. The position, while commanded by the slope and hills on the south, the wealth of the people, the rich meadows of Grand-Pré, lay to the north, east and west. Beyond Long Island stretched the broad



PLAN OF WINSLOW'S CAMP.



Basin of Minas, and in the blue of the farther shore Blomidon loomed. Where the camp stood was a green plain lined by willow trees and intersected by roads. This spot had been precious to the Acadiens for many years, for the graveyard held the many relatives and friends, whose eyes were not to see this last desecration of their most sacred posessions. The comfort of their church was denied them. The spires of St. Charles bore the flag which represented justice and humanity, and was to be the guise under which the ends of cruelty and rapacity were to be served; worked out with the most exacting system, and concealed with the elaborate skill of intelligent minds. On the gentle slope rising to the south lay the village with its scattered houses. On the east and west a continuous line of dwellings marked the hillside. Willows and apple-trees, gardens and pastures, and the fruitful dykelands to the river banks filled the land with visions of beauty and peace. Yet an armed host was within the midst of the people who were without suspicion, and who went about their daily tasks unconscious of the impending fate that was to waste their lands, destroy the fruits of their labors, their property and homes. But what was the utter loss of their worldly goods to the sorrow of being separated from the land that had been their home for so many years! The very tides and airs, and the forests and dykelands were there, and homes could be restored, if only they could return. But this was not to be. The land was for other peoples. The loss of all their wealth was as nothing beside this greatest loss of their lives, never to be made up.

Colonel John Winslow, in command at Grand-Pré, was sprung from the early governors of Plymouth colony, had seen considerable military service, and on several occasions had left his Marshfield farm to serve the country. He was now fifty-four years of age, with little education, though a thorough soldier. When it was decided to attack the position at Beausejour, held by the French, Winslow was commissioned by Shirley, Governor of Massachusetts, to raise two thousand volunteers. He was able to do so in a short time, and was made lieutenant-colonel in command of one of the two battalions which composed it. Farmers, yeomen, fishermen, shopkeepers and various tradesmen from all over the country enlisted for the service.

Winslow found himself pleasantly situated at Grand-Pré. The people were not troublesome, and in a short time the soldiers off duty were given to wandering through the villages, though not on friendly terms with the inhabitants. Captains Osgood, Adams and Hobbs were with Winslow. Eighteen miles away on the bank of the Piziquid was Fort Edward, where Captain Murray was in command of a garrison of regulars.

When Lawrence learned that Winslow's camp was being fortified, he feared that the people would be alarmed, and he urged him not to arouse their mistrust. Winslow replied that the Acadiens were without fear, as they supposed the English would be with them all winter. The people made no trouble, and the friendly feeling was evinced in their behavior. They were called upon at once to bring in supplies of

bread, flour and fresh meat. Harsh means would have been used to compel obedience, had it been necessary, even with military execution. Minas had to supply Fort Edward as well, at one time sixty bullocks being demanded of the inhabitants of Canard and Habitant. No money was paid them for the supplies needed for the troops, as everything of that kind was claimed by the Government. The season had been a good one, and the harvest large. The wheat was ripe, and but for the wet weather the work of gathering the grain would have been well advanced. It was determined that all the grain should be gathered and stored in the granaries, barns and cellars before the Acadiens should be told of their fate. When all the work was done and the people placed on board the transports, everything was to be burned and the country left desolate, so that all the Acadiens should give themselves up, and that none should return to Minas. The transports were anchored outside, after having been unloaded of supplies, and more vessels were expected. Meanwhile, Winslow was getting all the information possible in regard to the villages and the people. The camp was surrounded with a palisade, and regular guards and patrols established. Card-playing was prohibited as leading to idleness in the camp. Quoit-playing was not permitted within the inclosure because of the damage done to the greensward. Masons and diggers were sinking wells, and every preparation was made for the stay at Grand-Pré. On the 31st of August, Winslow, with a party of fifty men, set out on a tour

of inspection, which he reported as taking in two-thirds of Grand-Pré. The day was Sunday, and the afternoon was spent in looking over the country. On the next day, Captain Adams, with a party of seventy men, visited the villages of Habitant and Canard; and on the day following, Captain Hobbs visited the village of Melanson, in the valley of the Gaspereau. On the same day the country to the south was explored by Captain Osgood. By the reports thus obtained Winslow was able to get the location of the villages and the condition of the crops. At Canard was a beautiful church and a country full of inhabitants, with abundance of the world's goods. Reports equally favorable were made of the other places visited. Everywhere the Acadiens had plenty of provisions, and a good harvest was being gathered in. Winslow had been visited by Murray, and they had arranged a plan of operations. The only thing lacking was the transports, yet to arrive. The commanders agreed that the male inhabitants should be summoned to meet at the church at Grand-Pré, *to hear the king's orders*. Thus they were to be entrapped in the king's name. They had received positive orders from Lawrence to secure the Acadiens by stratagem or force, as circumstances demanded, and not the least attention was to be paid to any memorial or remonstrance from the people. No stronger power than the orders of the king could be used to bring the people together. They looked for a settlement of their affairs, which had long been promised them. Here at last was what they had been looking for.

The arrangements were complete. The captains, Adams, Hobbs and Osgood, were sworn to secrecy. When the vessels came, only the time for calling the people together remained to be fixed. On the 1st of September Winslow wrote Murray that he would meet with him on the next day, as three of the transports had arrived. The French were soon on board making inquiries, but as they had been warned not to let the Acadiens know why they had come to Minas, their suspicions were not excited. Eleven more ships were to arrive in a few days. On Tuesday, the 2nd, Winslow set out in a whale boat for Fort Edward, having with him "Doctor Whitworth and adjutant Kennedy, to consult with Captn. Murray in this Critical Conjunctor." So runs his journal. They drafted the PROCLAMATION TO THE INHABITANTS, which was translated into French by Deschamps, a merchant of Piziquid. It was as follows:

"To the inhabitants of the district of Grand-Pré, Minas River, Canard and places adjacent, as well ancients as young men and lads.

"Whereas His Excellency the Governor has instructed us of his late resolution respecting the matter proposed to the inhabitants, and has ordered us to communicate the same in person, His Excellency being desirous that each of them should be satisfied of His Majesty's intentions, which he has also ordered us to communicate to you, as they have been given to him: We therefore order and strictly, by these presents, all of the inhabitants as well of the above-named district as of all the other districts, both old and young

men, as well as the lads of ten years of age, to attend at the church of Grand-Pré, on Friday, the 5th instant, ant, at three in the afternoon, that we may impart to them what we are ordered to communicate to them, declaring that no excuse will be admitted on any pre-tence whatsoever on pain of forfeiting goods and chattels, in default of real estate.

"Given at Grand-Pré, 2nd September, 1755.

"JOHN WINSLOW."

We have in Winslow's own words :

"1755, September the 4th. This morning sent for Doctor Rodion (?) and delivered him a Citation to the Inhabitants with the Strict Charge to See It Executed, which he Promised Should be Faithfully Done.

"A Fine Day, and the Inhabitants very busy about their harvest," etc.

The orders had gone forth, and everything was in readiness for the morrow. The guards had been strengthened, and no one was to leave the line of pickets. Powder and ball were served to the men. Besides, the whole camp was under arms.

With less than twenty-four hours' notice, the Acadiens appeared at Grand-Pré from all the villages of Minas. From the Canard, Pereau, and Habitant rivers, from the Gaspereau Valley, from Minas in the west to Avonport in the east they came. FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTEEN MEN ENTERED THE CHURCH, their own church, which was now their prison. No suspicion of danger had entered their minds. There was no delay. When the people had entered, Winslow

had a table placed in the centre of the church, and accompanied by the officers who were off guard, and by a strong escort, he took his place to deliver *His Majesty's final resolution to the Acadiens*.

Here he took his stand in his laced uniform. Near him were the New Englanders, "strong, sinewy figures, bearing, no doubt, more or less distinctly the peculiar stamp with which toil, trade and Puritanism had imprinted the features of New England. Their commander was not of the prevailing type. He was fifty-four years of age, with double chin, smooth forehead, arched eyebrows, close powdered wig, and round, rubicund brows, from which the weight of an odious duty had probably banished the smirk of self-satisfaction that dwelt there at other times."* Before him were the sons and fathers of Minas. Strong, sun-burnt children of the soil, they waited anxiously for his words, their dark eyes and black hair in sharp contrast with the grey colors of their homespun. Doubtless many a prayer went up from that desecrated fane before the full horror of their fate darkened their lives. It is a sad picture—almost too sad to contemplate.

Winslow then read to the Acadiens the following, which is taken from his journal :

"Gentlemen,—I have Received from His Excellency Governor Lawrence the King's Commission which I have in my hand, and by whose orders you are Convened together, to Manifest to you His Majesty's final

* NOTE.—His portrait is in the room of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

resolution to the French Inhabitants of this his Province of Nova Scotia, who for almost half a Century have had more Indulgence Granted them than any of his Subjects in any part of his Dominions. What use you have made of them you yourself Best Know.

" The Part of Duty I am now upon is what thoh Necessary is Very Disagreeable to my natural make and Temper, as I Know it Must be Grievious to you who are of the Same Specia.

" But it is not my business to animadvert, but to obey Such orders as I receive, and therefore without Hesitation Shall Deliver you his Majesty's orders and Instructions, Vist. :

" That your Lands & Tennements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sorts are Forfeited to the Crown with all other your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods, and you your Selves to be removed from this his Province.

" Thus it is Preremptorily his Majesty's orders That the whole French Inhabitants of these Districts be removed, and I am Throh his Majesty's Goodness Directed to allow you Liberty to Carry of your money and Household Goods as Many as you Can without Discommoding the Vessels you Go in. I Shall do Every thing in my Power that all Those Goods be Secured to you and that you are Not molested in Carrying of them of, and also that whole Familys Shall go in the Same Vessel, and make this remove, which I am Sensable must give you a great Deal of Trouble, as Easey as his Majesty's Service will admit,

GRAND-PRE MEADOWS.



and hope that in what Ever part of the world you may Fall you may be Faithful Subjects, a Peasable & happy People.

" I Must also Inform you That it is his Majesty's Pleasure that you remain in Security under the Inspection & Direction of the Troops that I have the Honr. to Command." He then declared them prisoners of the king, and all their horses, cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and poultry forfeited, and no one under his command was to hurt, kill or destroy anything of any kind, or to rob orchards or gardens. Winslow now returned to his quarters at the priest's house, where he was soon followed by a deputation of the older Acadiens, who begged him to consider the condition of many of their families, now that they were not permitted to return to their homes, or to let them know in what condition they were in. After consultation with his officers, Winslow decided to permit twenty of the men to return to their homes, ten for each side of the Minas River, to inform their relatives that the women and children would be safe from molestation. They were to bring those who had not come in, the remainder of the prisoners being held responsible for the return of the absent. The families and friends of those in the church were ordered to supply food for the prisoners. They were permitted to move about the inclosure, but not farther east than Winslow's quarters. " Thus Ended the Memorable fifth of September, a Day of Great Fatigue & Trouble."

By the seventh of the month, there were only five transports in the Basin, not half the number required.

The prisoners were increased to four hundred and twenty-four. The millers were at work, and the people were as comfortable as could be under their sad circumstances. A strong guard was always posted, and every precaution taken to prevent surprise.

On the 10th of September, only one hundred of the prisoners had been able to return to their homes to spend one night with their families, twenty at a time being allowed the privilege. On this morning, Winslow had received a memorial from the people, imploring that they should be permitted to go to places where their own countrymen were, and that they should be given time to prepare for departure. They had probably learned the fate of the other French centres. They agreed to pay all expenses incurred. To preserve their religion they were willing to sacrifice everything else. Of course, nothing was done in their favor. Winslow states that on this morning he observed unusual signs of commotion on the part of the Acadian prisoners. As there were five transports idle, he determined to place fifty of the young men on each of the vessels, and thus lessen the danger of his position at Grand-Pré. He called for Père Landry, their chief leader, who spoke English, and told him, much to his grief and surprise, that he intended to embark two hundred and fifty of the young men. Landry was ordered to prepare the men at once, as the tide served in an hour and they must be taken away before that time. All the soldiers were under arms, and formed in line. The men who were to depart were drawn up in columns,

six deep, on the left of the whole body of the Acadiens. Thus they stood, between the two gates, in the rear of Winslow's quarters. The scene that followed is indescribable. Here were all the unmarried young men, from ten years and upwards, who were about to be separated from their fathers and brothers. They had been drawn off from the main body, and were guarded on all sides by the eighty soldiers under Captain Adams. Bayonets were fixed and it was dangerous to resist. Yet when the order was given to march there was no movement of the Acadiens. Every evidence of grief and excitement became manifest—cries of anger, tears and pleading for mercy, stubborn refusal to march, calling of father to son, and son to father, of brother to brother. Words cannot paint such scenes. When the boys said that they would not go without their fathers, Winslow writes that he did not understand the word, and that the king's command was absolute. The order to march was again given, and the soldiers advanced with fixed bayonets to enforce the command. They were thus compelled to move, and went off praying, singing and crying. A great many of the people from the villages now lined the road to the landing-place on the Gaspereau, a distance of one and a half miles. Many fell to their knees and prayed as the melancholy procession passed, or followed with wailing and lamentation. From the shore they were soon hurried on board boats, and carried to the ships, where they remained under strict guard for the remainder of the time before the fleet departed. On the return of the

soldiers, another company of ninety married Acadiens were escorted by Captain Osgood and eighty men. Two hundred and thirty of the French were now on board. The faithful wives and mothers brought provisions every day for the captives, the boats coming in at each tide from the vessels that were anchored out in the bay. As many as could go in the boats were permitted to board the ships to see their relatives.

The ARMED FORCE AT GRAND-PRE consisted of three hundred and sixty-three men. There was a degree of hatred existing towards the French people, and Winslow had to make stringent regulations to prevent the soldiers distressing the inhabitants. An officer accompanied the soldiers who brought in water for the camp, to prevent them maltreating the French. On one occasion two of the men were flogged for stealing fowls.

By the middle of September, Winslow had a list of the Acadiens of the Minas district, and of their live stock of all kinds. Two thousand seven hundred and forty-three people, with five thousand horned cattle, eight thousand six hundred sheep, four thousand hogs, five hundred horses, were the estimates according to his list. A fine harvest would have blessed the unfortunate Acadiens had they been able to remain in the country. They were now gathering it in for their enemies, or it would be destroyed. It was difficult for the people to realize that they were to be removed. They did not believe it till their lingering hope was broken with the commence-

ment of their long, sad wandering in a strange country and among a strange and unsympathetic people—a wandering that was to leave them destitute, attacked by disease, worn out and heart-broken with the distress of their lives till many were relieved by death.

It was the 8th of October before the final EMBARKATION began. A few more transports had arrived, and as the season was colder, it became necessary to hasten the disagreeable work. Orders had been sent to the people to prepare themselves to go on board the ships. On the 7th, twenty-four Acadiens escaped from two of the vessels. Suspecting one of the men, Francois Hebert, as the contriver or abettor of the escape, whether guilty or innocent, he was ordered ashore, having gone on board that day with his effects, and his house was burned before his eyes. Notice was then given that if the men who had escaped did not return in two days, all their friends would be served in the same manner and all their household goods confiscated. Through the efforts of Père Landry, who interceded for them, twenty-two of the men returned quietly to the vessels. Two of them were shot by a search party while trying to escape.

On the 8th, Winslow wrote: "Began to embark the inhabitants, who went off solentarily (*sic*) and unwillingly, the women in great distress carrying off their children in their arms; others carrying their decrepit parents in their carts, with all their goods, moving in great confusion, and appeared a scene of

woe and distress." Grand-Pré and the Gaspereau valley were cleared of inhabitants in a short time. Vessels were at Boudro's Point, between Canard and Habitant rivers, to receive the people of that part of Minas, but there were not enough to accommodate them. They were crowded to suffocation, and much, if not all, of their goods were left on the shore, where they were brought in carts. When the English settlers came in 1760, the remains of carts, furniture and household goods were found where the poor Acadiens were compelled to leave them. Affairs dragged along slowly and wearily until the 21st of October, when the fleet set sail, and conveyed from Minas as many as it was possible to crowd into the transports. There were thirteen vessels, two convoyed by frigates, in this fleet, an average of two hundred and seven to each vessel. Three were for Philadelphia, one for Boston, four for Maryland and five for Virginia.

From Fort Edward, Winslow sent an account to Governor Lawrence, dated October 27th, of what was being done. "We began to embark the inhabitants and shipped the whole of Grand-Pré and Gaspereau, and to expedite the affair sent Capt. Adams with half the party, to encamp between the rivers Canard and Habitant at a place called Boudro Point, where the inhabitants of those rivers, and all of Larure (?) Habitant and Pereau were ordered to be, and in compliance of those orders actually came with all their families and effects. . . . It was concluded to ship as many of the inhabitants as could be sent by

the vessels we had, and forward them to the places to which your Excellency assigned them, which on the 21st was completed, and the transports fell down under the convoy. . . . And although I put in more than two to a ton, and the people greatly crowded, yet remains upon my hands, for want of transports, the whole village of Antoine and Landry, and some of the Canard, amounting to ninety-eight families, and upward of six hundred souls, all of which I removed from Boudro Point to Grand-Pré, where I have at present set them down in houses nearest the camp, and permit them to be with their families upon their word of being at any call ready to embark and answering to their names upon the roll-call at sunset in the camp."

All the inhabitants being removed from the north side of Minas River, Winslow ordered the HOUSES AND BARNS TO BE BURNED. This was done on the Gaspereau as well. Enough houses to accommodate six hundred and fifty people were left standing in the vicinity of Grand-Pré, and were not destroyed till December.

HOUSES BURNT BY WINSLOW.

	<i>Houses.</i>	<i>Barns.</i>	<i>Outhouses.</i>
Nov. 2, at Gaspereau	49	39	19
" 5, Canard, Habitant, Pereau	76	81	33
" 6, " "	85	100	75
" 7, " "	45	56	28
<hr/> Total.....	255	276	155

Houses.....	255
Barns	276
Outhouses	155
Mills at the several places	11
Church	1
 Total.....	 698
 Shipment by Winslow	 1,510
" " Osgood	732
 Total	 2,242

On the 14th of November, Winslow set out for Halifax with an officer and fifty men, ninety men having been despatched to Annapolis on the 3rd. Captain Osgood was left in command at Grand-Pré, where six hundred and fifty Acadiens were held till transports should arrive to bear them away. Two vessels sailed with three hundred and fifty of the French on the 13th of December, one for Boston and one for Connecticut; and on the 20th, the last of the unfortunate people were sailing away from the country that was never again to be their home, two hundred and thirty people in two vessels, one for Boston and one for Virginia.

I shall not dwell on this closing scene of the Acadian occupation of Grand-Pré and Minas. Harsh words are useless. The chief designer, Lawrence, has been stigmatized as having brought about the deportation of the Acadiens. Of the same blood and race, I have been a dweller of Minas for thirteen years. My home has been in the midst of the dykes and marshes, in sight of the *Grand-Pré*, the Basin of Minas.

I have visited a great part of the country of Minas once occupied by the Acadiens. The willows set out by them mark many of their former villages. Their orchards still bear fruit, and their cellar walls yet mark the places where they lived and died, many of them, and from which hundreds of them were driven to leave their bones in other places. My ancestors found their way back to Nova Scotia, and settled on the shore of St. Mary's Bay, where their numerous descendants are to-day. By some strange chance I am here, the only Acadien of whom I know, living amid the same scenes that knew my people from 1671 to 1755.

CHAPTER X.

The Acadiens in Exile—The Return.

1755–1766.

WE have shown how awful in its results was the deportation, both in robbing this country of a prosperous people, and in depriving those people of a home, and separating families and kindred in widely divided places in New England. Lawrence, the chief mover in the shameful act, gave twenty thousand acres of land to each of the chief agents. He himself had the handling of the wealth in products and live stock which the Acadiens left, and the lion's share of that wealth was his. The deportation was worked out in a most heartless manner, to prevent, if possible, the reunion of families, and their return to Acadie. A great many died in a few years, on account of the hardships they had to bear. A small proportion of them found their way back to their former homes. Their descendants number thousands to-day, but the great purpose of the deportation was carried out; their land was offered to English settlers, and finally taken by them; and the wealth of the Acadiens was devoted to others. In the course of years many documents that would throw light on the events of 1755 were

lost or, as many think, destroyed. The recovery of papers in England led to the reconstruction of Acadien history, and has changed the character of many events of that time. A grudging justice is being done to the unfortunate people who had suffered so much at the hands of merciless men.

It is not my intention to follow the ACADIENS INTO EXILE. The story of Minas is ended. "Dispersed by the orders of Lawrence, decimated by malady, deprived of spiritual succor and human consolations, received with mistrust and contempt, placed in a desperate situation without any visible way out, crushed under the burden of an overwhelming woe, could they again become attached to life, set themselves once more to work and resume their former hopes ?"

In other parts of the country the Acadiens met the same fate as those of Minas. Between 1755 and 1763, it is believed that fourteen thousand out of the eighteen thousand Acadiens of the maritime country were removed. Of these at least eight thousand perished through grief, destitution, disease and other causes.

Only a small number of the people were put ashore in the northern ports of New England, except at Boston, where two thousand were landed. New York and Connecticut received, respectively, two hundred and three hundred. The remainder were distributed in Pennsylvania, Maryland, the Carolinas and Georgia. In Philadelphia they were at first forbidden to land, but after being over two months on the vessels, the three overcrowded ships gave up their unhappy freight. The last refer-

ence to these is in the city records of 1766, when a petition was tabled which asked for the payment for coffins provided for the French Neutrals. Death had reduced them from four hundred and fifty to two hundred and seventeen.

South Carolina furnished the fifteen hundred Acadiens who landed there, with vessels to return. After many hardships and misfortunes, they reached St. John River, on the Bay of Fundy, reduced to half their number.

Those who reached Georgia were again banished. They were permitted to make boats, and in these they made their way back as far as Massachusetts, when an order from Lawrence caused their boats to be seized and themselves to be made prisoners.

Others made their way to Louisiana and settled. Their numbers increased by the arrival of others till 1788, from San Domingo, Guiana, the ports of New England, and from France. Their descendants now number about forty thousand.

Of those who landed in Massachusetts, Hutchinson, the historian, says: "It is too evident that this unfortunate people had much to suffer from poverty and bad treatment, even after they had been adopted by Massachusetts. The different petitions addressed to Governor Shirley about this time are heartrending." This condition gradually lessened till they were able to leave the State for Canada.

Virginia refused to accept the fifteen hundred who were to be landed there. They remained on the ships till at length they were taken to England.

Four of the twenty ships never reached their destination. One was lost, two were driven by storm to San Domingo, and the fourth was taken by the Acadiens themselves, and returned to Acadie.

When peace was concluded between France and England, in 1763, a few thousand of the Acadiens started for Canada, where they settled. Three years later, another band having gathered in Boston, about eight hundred persons began the long march by land for their loved Acadie. Men, women and children, with but little food, toiled on through the forests of Maine, and up the Bay of Fundy to the isthmus of Shediac. Four months had been spent on the way, and at last they found that their former homes were in the possession of others, and Grand-Pré was not for them. Here the greater number of them remained, and their numerous descendants are dwelling there to-day. A small band of fifty or sixty continued round the shores, passing through Beausejour (now Cumberland) Piziquid, and Grand-Pré. Everything was changed. The English had been in the country for six years, and new houses stood where the undisturbed ashes of hundreds of their homes had lain till 1760.

"The children were frightened by them, the men and women were annoyed as by a threatening spectre from the grave, everybody was angry with them, and the poor wretches dragged themselves from village to village, worried and worn out by fatigue, hunger and cold, and a despair that grew at every halting place," till they reached Annapolis. On the deserted shore

of St. Mary's Bay they at last found themselves, having tramped a thousand miles, to be driven to a barren country. "Under pressure of necessity, these unfortunate outcasts raised log-huts; they took to fishing and hunting; they began to clear the land and soon out of the felled trees some roughly-built houses were put up." Such was the origin of the colony of the Acadiens in Digby County. Here was the home of my ancestors.

CHAPTER XI.

The English Settlers at Minas.

IT is known that all the Acadiens were not removed in 1755. Many of them remained in the country, hiding in the woods, and these were joined by others who returned afterward. When the English came in, six years after, they met with Acadiens who had not eaten bread for five years. For six years the lands remained idle. Canard and Habitant became Cornwallis Township, and was settled at the same time with Horton. Settlers came from Connecticut and settled in Minas. In 1759 the Government made an effort to secure people. The country had been surveyed and laid off in townships of one hundred thousand acres. The land had been viewed by agents for the people who were to come. On the 4th of June, 1760, twenty-two vessels arrived, convoyed by a brig of war. Where they landed, sixty ox carts and yokes were found, which had been left by the Acadiens when they brought their goods to embark, five years previous. In many places the bones of sheep and horned cattle were seen, evidently those of animals that had died for want of food. Everywhere they found the ruins of houses near the little orchards

or garden plots. The dykes, neglected for so long, let in the tide, and the settlers were glad to get the assistance of the Acadiens to repair them and build other new ones.

The other portion of Minas, including Grand-Pré and Gaspereau, and called Horton, comprised one hundred thousand acres. This township was also settled in 1760. Two hundred settlers from Connecticut were invited to take the lands. The grants were in fee simple, subject to quit-rents. A block-house, called Fort Montague, was built near the site of the old Vieux Logis, overlooking the meadows and the mouth of the Gaspereau. Here also the dykes had been broken by a terrible storm which occurred in 1759. It was some years before the people could repair the dyke, and not till 1810 was the whole meadow shut in from the tide. The settlers brought cattle with them, and the Government bore the expense of transporting the people and their goods and animals. They at first suffered from the severity of the winter, and some of them were provided with provisions by the Government.

France and England signed a treaty of peace in 1764; yet as late as 1765 there were Acadien prisoners at Fort Edward, at one time as many as four hundred. After that time they were permitted to take up land.

The English Minas increased in population, and many names have come down to us from these early settlers. Missionaries carried on their work in ways peculiar to their times. A letter written in 1791 gives us a picture of the day :

" As to the religious opinions and professions of the inhabitants I shall only observe in general that a few, and but a very few, belong to the Established Church (Scotland); a few, but I believe more than the former, are Presbyterian dissenters. The Methodists bear the sway, most all of them Yorkshire. . . . Those of the original settlers from New England who remain have chiefly become New Lights; without prejudice it may be said of both sectaries, that being unenlightened by knowledge and united by delusion, animated by party spirit and carried away by a religious-like zeal, they seem to vie with each other in the wildness and the absurdity of their opinions and practices, and they seem to breathe fire and vengeance against each other, and against everybody else." Such were the times.

The history of the Rev. George Gilmore, the second Presbyterian minister in Horton, will be read with interest. He was born in Antrim, studied in Edinburgh, married and had children in Ireland. Came to Philadelphia in 1769. Early in the Revolutionary war he had to flee for his life into Canada. In 1785 he was in Halifax making claims for losses resulting from the war, as he had espoused the Loyalist cause. He was granted a farm on a barren hill, and during one winter he and his family lived on potatoes and milk. In his distress he walked to Halifax to mortgage his farm for a barrel of flour, but failed to do so. He continued to preach in Windsor, and finally, in 1791, he came to Horton, where he died in 1811. His grave is in the burying-ground near the old Covenanter

Church at Grand-Pré. His gravestone is inscribed in Latin.

The old Scotch Church at Grand-Pré was built in 1804. This relic is very interesting; but, unfortunately, nothing is done to preserve it. It is much visited every year. Only two or three services a year are held to prevent the property passing out of the hands of the body. Old trees surround it and the graveyard adjoining, in which the "forefathers of the hamlet sleep." The stiff, high-backed pews remain, and overlooking the neglected interior yet stand the lofty pulpit and sounding-board.

With the growth of Wolfville is naturally associated the development of Acadia University and the increasing strength of the Baptist body in this portion of the country. The first survey of the country provided for the building of towns, but natural conditions favored their growth elsewhere. A small cluster of houses formed near what was called the "Bridge," which since has become Wolfville. Before the railway passed through, vessels were loaded alongside the main street. The rich land and a beautiful situation, with other favoring conditions, the chief of which was the establishing of the college here, led to the development of the university town of Wolfville. Waterworks, electric lights, and well laid-out streets and beautiful residences, with all the conditions of a clean town and the promise of continued growth, make this classic centre the rendezvous of tourists who seek Grand-Pré.



ACADIA UNIVERSITY AND SEMINARY.



Acadia College sprung into being from the needs of the Baptist body for an educational institution at a time when its adherents were a small factor in Nova Scotia. In 1827 several educated young men having adopted Baptist principles and entered the ministry, their influence, with the demands of the older ministry, brought about the result which has been of so much benefit to Baptist teaching ever since. In March, 1829, the school known as Horton Academy was opened. In 1836 the collegiate institution was commenced, supported by the Baptists of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. The university and affiliated institutions at the present time include the College, the Ladies' Seminary and the Academy, or Preparatory School, and the Manual Training School. The energy and faith of its supporters are manifest in the effort that is being made for larger endowments to increase the efficiency of the schools. Dr. Thomas Trotter is President of the University.

CHAPTER XII.

The Origin of "Evangeline"—What to See—Hints to Tourists.

I HAVE been asked many times how it was that LONGFELLOW came to write his poem "Evangeline." The following is a correct account of it. There is a letter in the Legislative Library at Halifax which vouches for a generally accepted account. In 1845, Hawthorne and a Rev. Father Connoly dined one day with Longfellow. After dinner the priest said he had been trying to persuade Hawthorne to write a story based upon a legend of Acadie—the story of a young girl taken from Grand-Pré with all her people. In exile she was separated from her lover, and they sought each other in vain until the girl became a Sister of Charity, when, advanced in years she was one day called to nurse a patient who had been brought low with sickness. In him she recognized the lover of her youth. Longfellow wondered that this legend did not strike the fancy of Hawthorne, and said to him: "If you have really made up your mind not to use the story, will you give it to me for a poem?" Hawthorne assented to this, and promised, moreover, not to treat the subject in prose till Longfellow had seen what he could do with it in verse.

It seems that Connoly had been urging Hawthorne to write the story. The priest had been told the facts of the story by Mrs. George Haliburton, an aunt of Judge Haliburton, the author of "Sam Slick." This well-known Nova Scotian published, in 1829, a history of Nova Scotia. He knew many of the Acadiens who had returned to the Province after their wanderings in New England. Doubtless Longfellow made use of this history when writing the poem. The following extracts taken from his journal show the development of the poem :

Nov. 28, 1845.—I have commenced my idyl in hexameters. I do not intend to let a day pass without adding to it a few lines at least. Felton and Sumner do not approve of hexameter verse, but I am of the opinion that it is the only form that is suited to this kind of a poem.

Dec. 2, 1845.—I do not know what to name, not a new child that has just been born to me, but my new poem. Which shall it be : "Gabrielle," or "Celestine," or "Evangeline?"

Jan. 8, 1846.—Always at work, but alas ! how little the poem advances. One interruption follows another. I wish to go into solitude for a whole season.

Jan. 22, 1846.—I hope to be well advanced in "Evangeline" when vacation ends. Two cantos are finished ; this is a good commencement.

April 3, 1846.—I have examined to-day a collection of songs. This is a singular book . . . I noted the air "Charming Gabrielle."

July 9, 1846.—Not any progress has been made on my much-loved poem “Evangeline.”

Nov. 12, 1846.—I had hurried to see myself vigorously at the work, but as soon as I counted on a day of leisure to leave me free for poetry, certain unexpected circumstances came to deprive me of it.

Dec. 15, 1846.—I have worked to-day a little on “Evangeline,” sketching the second part, which fascinates me. If I can only give it the tone and all the proper expressions. The material for this part is abundant. The difficulty is to make a happy choice and to make a unity of the variety.

Dec. 17, 1846.—I have finished the first canto of the second part of “Evangeline.” Some of the verses which I composed this morning were written at my office. Just now I am writing in pencil on my lap. I like this way of composing, because it permits me to write in the shade, near the fireplace, and saves my eyes. I see that they offer for sale a panorama of the Mississippi. It comes just in time. Instead of going to the river, the river comes to me, and as it may flow over all the pages of my poem, I consider this panorama of the Mississippi a great blessing.

Jan. 14, 1847.—I have finished the last canto of “Evangeline,” but the poem is not ended; there remain two intermediate cantos to compose.

Jan. 22, 1847.—I have pursued the composition of my poem, and walked for a couple of hours.

Jan. 27, 1847.—I have finished the second canto of the second part of “Evangeline.” Then I exercised myself by rendering a passage in pentameter rhymes.

Jan. 27, 1847.—I bought at the bookstore the “Annals of Philadelphia,” by Watson; the “Historical Collection of Pennsylvania,” and the “Geographical Description of Louisiana,” by Darby. These works will be useful to me in giving a local coloring to the part of “Evangeline,” which is yet to be written.

Feb. 1, 1847.—I have almost finished to-day the third canto of the second part of “Evangeline.”

Feb. 23, 1847.—My poem is almost ended; I composed the last verse of it this morning.

April 4, 1847.—Sumner and Felton took tea with me; we were talking of “Evangeline.” Sumner appears to me little confident of the success of the poem, and he seems to desire that I should delay the publication of it six months or more.

April 9, 1847.—My manuscript is in the hands of the printers. Folsom has cut it out almost everywhere. How severe he is! But so much the better.

Oct. 2, 1847.—Why does not Ticknor publish “Evangeline”?

Oct. 30, 1847.—“Evangeline” is published.

Nov. 8, 1847.—“Evangeline” is making its way bravely. None of my previous publications was worth so numerous and so warm congratulations.

Strange to relate, Longfellow never saw Grand-Pré. As was natural, certain errors crept into the poem, which only a study of the country could have avoided. I have noted a few discrepancies, topographical and historical. The poem is, in the main, correct. The people were made to suffer all the horrors described. Families and friends were separated.

"This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and hemlocks."

In the year 1710 a terrible forest fire swept over the country from Gaspereau to the Piziquid. It is probable that the extensive forests covering the mountains to the east were also destroyed at the same time. The great quantity of wood which had to be brought to supply the Acadiens must have come from a long distance—as some writers say, from the east side of the Avon. Only a small patch at the head of that river remained. When the English settlers came in 1760 they passed laws for the protection of the wood then standing. For many years the new growth was small, and consisted of spruce, fir, white birch, poplar and white pine. It is said that in the previous year a cyclone had laid prostrate the forest from Annapolis to East Hants. Over a great part of this territory, the soil is thin on the mountain, and once the fire started in the next year nothing could stop the fearful march of the flames till it reached the Avon.

"Naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand-Pré."

Of late years much has been learned of the Acadiens and of their villages. Grand-Pré proper was a very small village.

"Vast meadows stretched to the eastward."

The marshes lie chiefly to the north,



EVANGELINE.

(From the painting by Thomas Faed.)



"but at stated seasons the flood-gates Opened, and welcomed the sea to wander at will o'er the meadows."

Gates are not opened to let in the salt water. The land is remarkably fertile, and has been producing crops for many years without renewing. Some of the land is very valuable as hay land, and is rated as high as \$400 per acre. After the deportation, in the year 1759, before the Acadien lands were again occupied, the dykes were broken and the meadows flooded. Again, in 1828, the extremely high tide broke over the dykes and flooded many thousand acres of land. The famous Saxby tide of 1869 overtopped the highest dykes by some inches, and in many places the protecting walls were broken down and much damage was done by the salt water. On the Wick-wire dyke, near Wolfville, it was several years before the dykes were rebuilt, and a year or so before the productive power of the soil was restored. Salt water has the effect of killing the ordinary vegetation of the meadows, under certain conditions.

"West and south were the fields
Spreading afar and unfenced o'er the plain."

There is no plain to the south of Grand-Pré, for the country is hilly, with gentle slopes, till it falls away to the Gaspereau valley.

"Benedict Bellefontaine, the wealthiest farmer of Grand-Pre."

Oliver Bellefontaine, living in the village of Gaspereau, is the only one of the name to be found in

Winslow's list. There was no priest in Minas in the autumn of 1755, he having been removed during the summer.

"Gentle Evangeline lived."

The only Bellefontaine had no daughter, according to the list above mentioned. Gabriel Lajeunesse was not a name known at Minas.

Réne Le Blanc was the notary.

"Anon from the belfry
Softly the Angelus sounded."

The troops had taken the church for a storehouse, and it was within the picket inclosure, and under strict guard.

In the matter of time there is great discrepancy. No doubt the poet had not access to Winslow's journal at the time of writing the poem.

"Then uprose the commander, and spake from the steps of the altar."

He was seated at a table in the open space of the building, and from there he read the proclamation.

"Lo! the door of the chancel opened, and Father Felician entered."

This scene could not have been enacted, as there was no priest in the country. Nor was there a service afterwards.

"Thus to the Gaspereau's mouth they hurried ; and there on
the sea-beach
Piled in confusion lay the household goods of the peasants."

The men had been taken on board the transports, and were there some time before the rest of the people were ordered to embark. The sad scene on the beach, and the subsequent embarking, are creations of the poet's fancy.

On the 4th of August, 1755, the *curé* of Minas had been ordered to Halifax, and was detained there. On the 10th, Le Maire, priest of Canard River, was also a prisoner. There was now not a priest left to the French of the Annapolis valley. This was a severe punishment, at all times; for their religion, and the officers of their religious worship they deemed their dearest possession. This move on the part of Lawrence left the way open for the use of the church and the priest's house by Winslow, when he came to Grand-Pré. It left them without the guides they placed every confidence in, and, on the other hand, it removed a possible obstacle to a complete trap set for the Acadiens.

WHAT TO SEE.

At Grand-Pré.—The French Willows, opposite the railway station. In a line from the east, the burying-ground of the Acadiens, the French Well, the site of the Church, the priest's house. The well and cellar of the priest's house are easily found. The four places mentioned are in a line in the order

named from the east, between the Willows and the railway station.

The Acadian Road to the village of Grand-Pré, running from the Willows up the hill on the south, marked by willows. The Grand-Pré, the great meadow, taken from the sea.

The Landing Place, where the Acadiens embarked, one and a half miles east, on the Gaspereau River.

Site of the old Fort, *Vieux Logis*, near the same place.

The Old Covenanter Church, built in 1804, one-quarter mile south of the station.

Evangeline Beach, Long Island, with view of the Basin.

Col. Noble's grave, near first corner south of the railroad. Soldier's grave near by.

The Basin of Minas.—The Tides. By all means see the tides, the most wonderful in the world. Average height, fifty feet. In places *seventy* feet.

“Tide in” and “tide out” from the same point.

The “Tidal Bore,” the advance wave of the coming tide, at times four feet high on the Petitcodiac.

Cape Blomidon, where amethyst and zeolites are found.

Herbin's collection of specimens and cut stone.

The dykes and an *aboiteau*, or sluice, to let out the water.

The Gaspereau Valley.—Drive through it, for it is the most beautiful spot in Nova Scotia.

The Look-Off.—From which can be seen four counties. This drive will take you through a country of

orchards and marshes. A very beautiful drive, and historically interesting as well, through the Canard of the Acadiens.

Wolfville.—Named after the De Wolfs, one of the old families.

Acadia University, and affiliated institutions.

The University Museum.

Herbin's collection of Acadian and Indian relics.

Vessels left high and dry by the tide at the wharves.

A harbor without water.

The view from the ridge south of Wolfville, a short walk.

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